

**THE JOURNAL
OF
ELIZABETH COZENS**

**Edited, with Notes, Introduction
and Commentary**

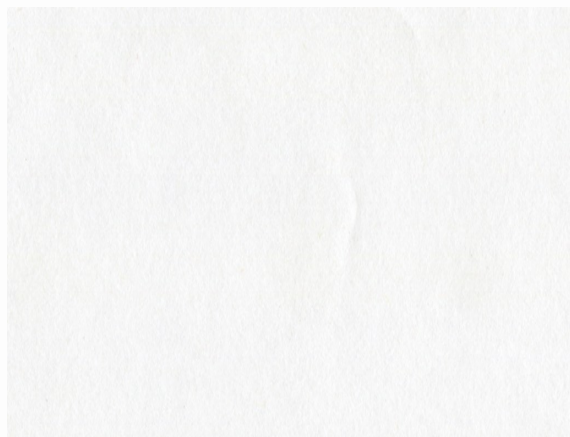
by

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of the requirements for the degree of
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(Supervisor: Dr Dorothy Driver)

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ABSTRACT

Miss Elizabeth Cozens travelled to Mauritius in 1823 to act as a companion to Lady Frances Cole, the wife of the Governor. When Sir Lowry Cole accepted the Governorship of the Cape Colony, Elizabeth accompanied his party to Cape Town where they were to remain until August 1833.

The journal of Miss Elizabeth "Lisinka" Cozens documents her daily life and activities from Thursday 22 October 1829 until Thursday 31 January 1833. It is a rare document of daily life at the Cape seen through the eyes of a woman who moved within the social circle of the Governor, Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, and his close friends and acquaintances. The balls, soirées, dances, parties and grand dinners were faithfully recorded, along with the more mundane record of everyday life.

Of special interest is a tour which took Lisinka and the party to Paarl, Franschhoek, Genadendal, Caledon, Palmiet's River, and the encampment at Hottentots' Holland.

The complete text of this journal has been carefully transcribed and edited, and detailed micro-historical notes have been provided which elaborate upon the daily life of the Cape circles of society in which the Governor and his family moved.

Although little is known of Lisinka's life before her arrival in Mauritius, the social history of the Cole and Harris families is examined briefly in order to place Lisinka's relationship with them in perspective and also to explain the background to her arrival at the Cape of Good Hope in 1828.

The journal records few of Lisinka's feelings and discussion is made of her silence and its possible causes as related to other women's writing of the period. The journal's uniqueness is studied in terms of Lisinka's extensively recorded trip to Genadendal in 1829, which excursion is compared with other travel journals of the Cape colony in the early nineteenth century.

The aim of this work is to examine, and come to an understanding of, Lisinka's status in the Governor's household - partly a governess, partly a companion and partly a guest - and, at the same time, to explicate Lisinka's journal, which illuminates Cape colonial life during the governorship of Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole (1828-1833).

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Peter J. Howes
23 July 1993

PREFACE

A Note on the Cole Papers

Amongst the Cole family papers at the Public Records Office in Kew, Surrey, a few documents are to be found relating to Lisinka Cozens, including the journal that is the subject of this study.¹ The Cape journal of E. "Lisinka" Cozens (1828-1833), although incomplete,² is handwritten over seventy-six double pages, 18.7cm by 22.4cm. The writing is precise and neat, entries being of uniform length except for some remarkable instances where special events or occasions are recorded in greater detail. It is such entries that make the journal valuable.

Also at the Public Records Office are a series of letters which throw light upon the relationship between Lisinka and the Coles before they travelled to the Cape of Good Hope in 1828. Eight letters exist written by Lady Frances Cole, then in Mauritius, to Miss Cozens (Lisinka's elder sister). A large bundle of letters written by Lady Frances Cole to various members of her family has also been preserved.³ These family letters are in the process of being edited as the subject of a separate study, focusing as they do upon the Lowry Coles' domicile at Mauritius between 1823 and 1828.

Lisinka joined the Coles at Mauritius in 1825. Of her correspondence from the Island, four letters addressed to the Countess of Malmesbury, Lady Frances Cole's mother, survive.⁴ A single letter written by Lisinka to Lady Malmesbury's sister⁵ is the only one written from the Cape of Good Hope that has been preserved. It is reproduced here in the relevant place as a useful addition to the journal.⁶

With great consistency the various documents comprising the Cole papers refer to the author variously by the names Lisinka or Lizinka, and Lisha, but it is evident that she signed her own letters to England with her name, Elizabeth Cozens. Lisinka's elder sister, Harriet Cozens, is addressed in correspondence as Coz or Cos. For the purpose

of clarity it has been decided to use the name Lisinka for the younger and Miss Cozens for the elder throughout the introduction and notes; however, where reference is made to them in the letters or journals quoted, the individual choice of name and spelling of the author concerned have been retained.

The original handwritten journal has been meticulously checked, typed out manually and rechecked before a second complete version could be compiled on the computer. This version was then compared with the original so that the entire journal could be reproduced here in as close a textual form as is possible.

The pagination of the original document is indicated by the use of a number prefaced by a capital P placed between square brackets within the body of the text, e.g. [P76], to facilitate future research.

Ellipses are indicated by three periods. An illegible word is indicated by a single hyphen within a square bracket [-]; a series of words by a series of hyphens [-----]. The ampersand and the dash occur frequently in both family letters and other journals. These have been retained not only in the Journal itself but also in the quotations cited from other documents.

There exist occasional spelling errors: these have been retained with sic added within square brackets. On the other hand, Lisinka frequently misspelled proper names until she had learned their correct form and then she adjusted her subsequent entries accordingly. In so far as they show a process rather than merely an error these misspellings have been retained. Like many pre-Victorians Lisinka used capital letters far more frequently than is the modern practice and not always consistently; these have also been retained.

Lisinka sometimes used initials or abbreviated forms of names and ranks, such as "Captn C." or "the Dr" and, occasionally she confused ranks and called a Captain a Lieutenant and so on. These have been transcribed exactly and have been explained then in a footnote.

Footnotes appear on the same page of the journal entry as far as is possible in order to help give the reader a fuller view of life at the Cape in the early nineteenth

century from each page. Unless otherwise stated, all documents cited are in the Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), and have been cited in accordance with the publication Citation of Documents in the Public Record Office (General Information no. 24). Quotations from other books, documents, journals, and correspondence have been reproduced, as has the entire text, in accordance with the MLA Handbook (Gibaldi, 1988, reprinted 1992).

Notes

- 1 E. "Lisinka" Cozens, journal, 22 Oct. 1829 to 31 Jan. 1833, PRO 30/43/121.
- 2 It is labelled "continuation of Lisinka's journal" and begins on 22 Oct. 1829, fourteen months after Lisinka's arrival at the Cape, and ends with an entry for 31 Jan. 1833, seven months before her departure. There are several gaps within the journal itself.
- 3 Lady Frances, letters to Miss Cozens, 7 Apr. 1823 - 13 Jan. 1826 [some incomplete], PRO 30/43/122.
- 4 Elizabeth Cozens, letters to Lady Malmesbury, 12 June 1825 - Good Friday 1826, PRO 30/43/33.
- 5 i.e. the Hon. Mrs Frederick Robinson.
- 6 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to the Hon. Mrs Robinson, 1 May 1830, PRO 30/43/9.

INTRODUCTION

The Journal of Elizabeth Cozens

Miss Lisinka Cozens, who was a family friend of the Lowry Coles, was their house-guest from 1828 to 1833 at the Cape of Good Hope. Her stay exactly coincided with the years that Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole was the Governor there. Widely travelled, well-educated, and acknowledged by her peers to be in possession of an inquiring mind, Lisinka recorded in her journal the pageant of daily life within the Cape Governor's household - choosing to elaborate upon what she regarded as every major deviation from the commonplace.

Very little is known yet about the circumstances of her birth and of her personal life before she lived with the Coles and, even when she comes to keep her journal, she remains silent concerning her feelings for the greater part of the text. Generally her entries are brief, merely listing the names of visitors and guests without elaborating upon their characters or writing their prosopographies; however, these entries have provided the clues for further painstaking research into the micro-events of Cape Town's social and political life between 1828 and 1833, as experienced by an Englishwoman of the upper middle-class. As far as possible, daily events such as births and marriages, sicknesses, deaths, snowfalls and even storms at sea, are expanded in the footnotes with the aid of contemporary accounts from newspapers, correspondence, and other journals.

Although both Lisinka and Lady Frances Cole kept journals, generally recording very scant details, it is Lisinka's journal that is the more valuable because where she encounters the extraordinary she records the events and sights with far greater eloquency than does Lady Frances Cole. Lisinka's extended account of her tour to Genadendal, following the route travelled by many early nineteenth-century tourists,

provides a new perspective on other published journals of the period, and may be compared with the tours made by Lieutenant James Ewart, the Reverend Christian Latrobe, Sir John and Lady Herschel, and Lady Jane Franklin.

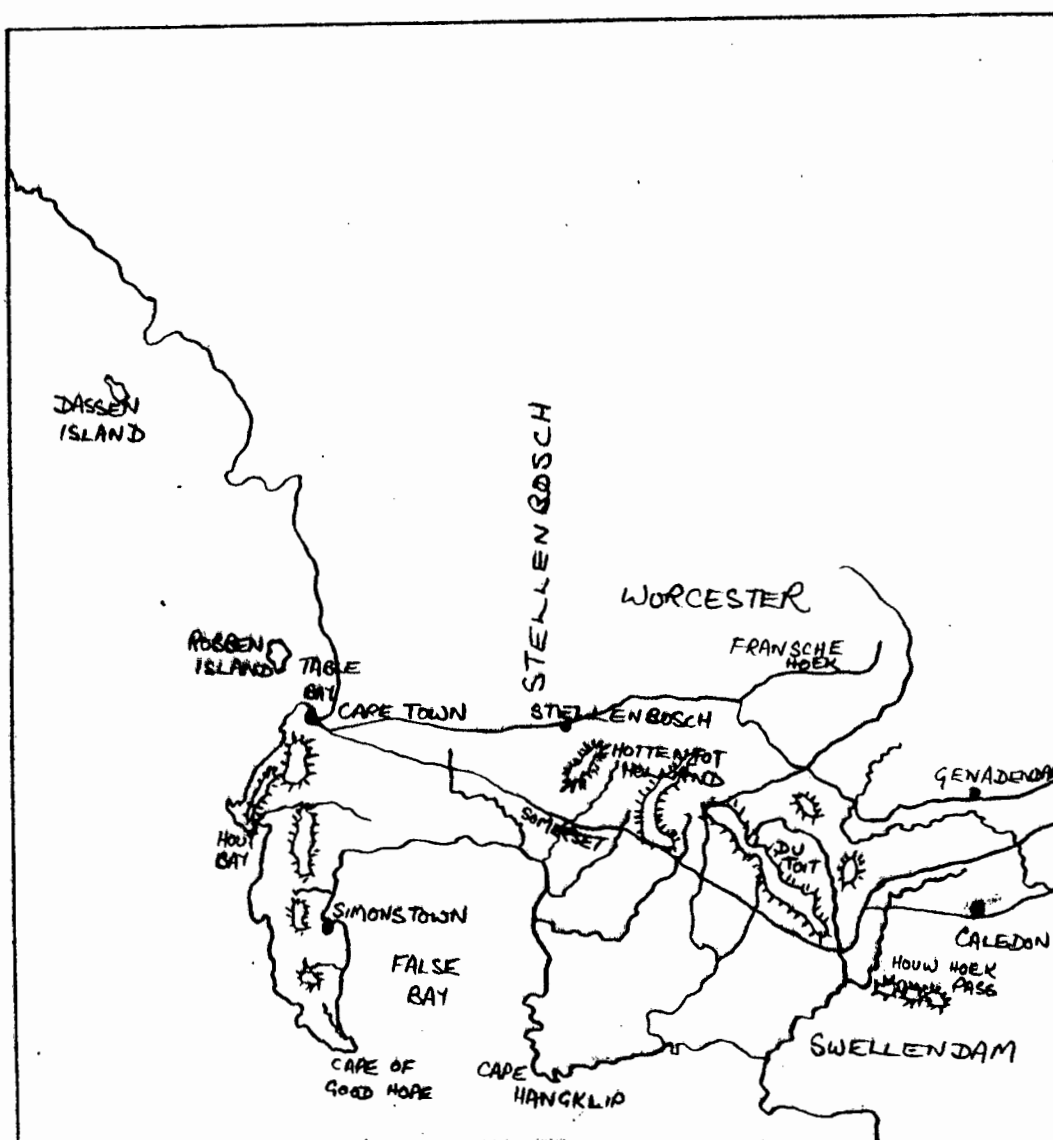
Lisinka also wrote in some detail about events that were otherwise unrecorded but nevertheless important to the social history of Cape Town: the foundation-stone laying ceremony of St. George's Church (23 Apr. 1830), the celebrations annually of Sir Lowry Cole's birthday on May day, and her impressions of the first military funeral that she observed (17 Nov. 1831).

Lisinka's journal is most valuable for the insight it gives into the perspective of a single, protected woman at the Cape. The specific period of Cape Town's history covered is not encountered in any other diaries. As far as the journal illuminates the governorship of the Cape colony by Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, it prepares the way for a closer study of the Cole's social life there.

It is hoped that the proposed publication of this volume will be followed very shortly by the publication of Lady Frances Cole's Letters, on which research is already far advanced both in South Africa and in England.

MAP

The Cape of Good Hope - 1829



By Anita L. Collard-Howes, after Swart & Steedman (Cartwright).

CHAPTER ONE

The Social World

The nature of historical research has begun to undergo a profound change, and emphasis is increasingly being placed on the social rather than the political aspects of the past.(Schoeman 7)

Included at the back of Lisinka's journal is a poem copied out in her own handwriting. Although it is written on loose pages, its inclusion is relevant to the journal. The poem is recorded in its entirety and therefore it must have had relevance for Lisinka beyond the mere occasion upon which it might have been recited or read. It presents several of the aspects of change which were being encountered worldwide at that time: economic, political and social. Though written in a humorous vein, it also reflects the state of anxiety which these changes would have caused.

Mrs Harris' Soliloquy while threading her needle.

by Ly. Dufferin

Ah deary me! What needles! - well really I must say
 All things are sadly altered - (for the worse too) since my day,
 The pins have neither heads nor points, the needles have no eyes,
 And there's ne'er a pair of scissors of the good old fashioned size!
 The very bodkins now are made in fine new fangled
 ways,
 And the good old British thimble - is a dream of other days!
 Now that comes of machinery! I'm given to understand
 That great folks turn their noses up, at all things, "done by hand",
 Al'tho' its easy proving to the most thick pated dunce,
 That things aren't done the better - for all being done at once.
 I'm sure I often ponder, with a kind of awful dread
 On those bold "spinning-Jennies" that "go off, of their own head"!
 Those powerlooms & odd machines, - those whizzing things with wheels,
 That ever more "keep moving!" - besides one really feels
 So superannuated-like, and laid upon the shelf -
 When one sees a worsted stocking, get up, and knit itself!

Ah! That comes of those Radicals! Why, life's a perfect storm
 A Whirlwind of inventions! with their "Progress" & "Reform"
 The good old days - the quiet times, that calmly used to glide
 Are changed into a steeple chase, - a wild cross country ride!
 A loud voice holloa in our ears - away! away! we go;
 A levelling all distinctions, & a mingling high & low,
 All spurring on, with seats so tight, and principles so loose
 Whisk! over this old prejudice! slap bang! thro' that abuse
 No matter why, - no matter where! without a stop or hitch
 And no body has time to help his neighbour in the ditch.
 And then what turns and changes! Good Luck! I'd rather be,
 A joint stool in a Pantomime, - than some great folks I see.
 Because in Pantomimes, - a stool, may turn to anything,
 You're not surprised, if chairs step out to dance a Highland fling.

A coffee pot perhaps becomes a mitre by-and-by, -
 And every thing is something else - & nobody asks why?
 But there's a rage for questioning, & meddling now a days;
 And what one does, don't matter half so much as what one says
 And a minister can't change his mind, without such a stir & fuss
 That one would think the "public voice" was some huge Omnibus.
 Which takes you to a certain point; whereat you must remain
 Until the same old Bus may choose - to take you back again!
 For (odd enough) in all this change, they keep some order still,
 And when they turn, - turn all at once, - like soldiers at a drill,
 But won't allow a public man, a private pirouette
 When once his art of Harlequin, or Pantaloon, is set.
 And that's what makes their Pantomime so dull, & such a bore,
 That their joint stool must still remain, a joint stool evermore.

Now that comes of Newspapers! I know in my young days,
 "Least said & soonest mended," was a maxim worthy praise,
 But were I to give counsel to the public - as a friend, -
 "Little said, & nothing written," is the rule I'd recommend.
 Such snapping up - & setting down! Reporters left & right!
 All bent on pinning down a man to lie, in Black & White!
 Such raking up of Hansard! Such flinging in one's face,
 Any little "lapsus linguae"¹ that may once have taken place
 Such a-fending, & a-proving, & a-calling over coals,
 As if it really mattered to our poor immortal souls,
 That Thingumbob should think, or say, on question so & so,
 The foolish things he thought & said - some forty years ago!
 There's one thing in those papers, tho' I'm very glad to see,
 That many more old women, think, very much like me;
 I'm even told that certain Dukes, will echo back my groan,
 And sigh for those dear golden days, when we "left - well, alone."²

Although the title possibly suggests that it was written by the "Mrs Harris"³ cited there, the poem was actually written by Lady Dufferin (1807-1867) whose history is no less interesting than Lisinka's.

The eldest daughter of Thomas and Caroline Sheridan, Helen Selina travelled with her parents and two sisters to the Cape in 1813. Thomas Sheridan suffered from consumption and hoped to benefit from the Cape's climate. (Krüger 2:661) After her father's death in 1817, Helen returned to England with her mother on board the Albion, but had to leave England in 1825 when, at the age of seventeen, she married Commander Price Blackwood, youngest son and heir of Lord Dufferin.⁴ Their marriage being strongly opposed, they had to spend the following two years in Italy - a repetition possibly of the stormy events which had surrounded both her father's and her famous grand-father's marriages.

Lady Dufferin seems to have inherited some of R.B. Sheridan's (1751-1816) writing skills. Although she wrote many songs and verses they were all published anonymously, therefore making it difficult to date the poem which Lisinka recorded. In the soliloquy the mention of the omnibus, which came into use in London in the late 1820s, suggests that the poem was written about 1829 or 1830.

Although the exact date of authorship of the poem must remain uncertain, it is most likely that a copy of it was circulated within the family. The poem is neither contained in Lady Catherine Bell's large file of poetry which is preserved at the Public Records Office, nor in any of the Cape of Good Hope publications of the period.⁵ Lady Dufferin's Memoir, in which was included her poetry and songs, was published posthumously only in 1894.

The poem presents us with a threefold understanding of the changes that "Mrs Harris" believed were occurring. It is necessary to present a brief explanation of these economic, political, and social changes in order to place Lisinka's journal in historical perspective.

"All things are sadly altered - (for the worse too)". The spirit of industrialization and the economic changes it brought about are reflected in Lady Dufferin's words.

Mechanical inventions of the time, fast replacing the hand-crafted items, instilled an "aweful dread" and a sense of superannuation in the writer, although she believed that the finished products were not necessarily better: "pins have neither heads nor points, the needles have no eyes". Machinery is blamed for the economic disorder that she observed: "Now that comes of machinery! ... great folks turn their noses up at all things 'done by hand'." Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), the Puritan teacher, wrote in opposition to the liberalism and mechanism he believed would destroy mankind:

Were we required to characterize this age of ours by any single epithet, we should be tempted to call it, not an Heroical, Devotional, Philosophical, or Moral Age, but, above all others, the Mechanical Age. It is the Age of Machinery, in every outward and inward sense of that word. (Carlyle 64)

Up until about 1820 Britain's population had been largely agricultural, the labourers being the farmers who, together with their families, operated their small-holdings from their own homes. The wool-farmers and the hand-loom weavers were the working-class which, as the new cotton industry flourished, quickly became impoverished. David Craig points out that although the old cottage industries rapidly came to an end, it did not mean necessarily that the quality of life deteriorated, but rather that people's lives were enslaved by labour. He explains it as follows:

The family which in the time of, say, Defoe had carded, spun, and woven, washed, and bleached, as a team was now scattered from home, out into the mills, there to be knit together again as a class no longer based on blood-ties ... Instead of work following the rhythms of close personal relations - work until the piece was finished, a journey to sell it, and then perhaps a long week-end until the money was finished - now the men, women, and children must submit to a rigid time-table laid down by a management avid that every minute should be worked to the full. (Craig 17)

Spinning machines, which had been invented during the 1760s, were being powered now by steam engines and used high velocity gearing. The machinery was housed in centralized factories, financed by entrepreneurs who drew the profits earned by their wage-earners, the formerly independent labourers. Consequently, the hand-loom weavers were left indigent and cotton cloth accounted for a large portion of Britain's exports by 1830 even though Britain cultivated no cotton. In Signs of the Times, Carlyle scorned industrial machines and the poverty they brought about:

Nothing is now done directly, or by hand; all is by rule and calculated contrivance. On every hand, the living artisan is driven from his workshop to make room for a speedier, inanimate one. (Carlyle 64)

Mass production and the economic changes it introduced did not imply that the wage-earners were paid more. In 1795 the Justices of the Peace of Berkshire had linked the scale of wages with the price of corn (Adams 147-50). Were the price of corn to drop, and wages also, then it was decreed that the local parishes should make up the difference provided that the wage-earners in question declared themselves "paupers". Meanwhile, the number of factories grew and, as demographic growth increased also, labour became cheap, the corn laws were exploited and the parishes bore the burden of a rapid increase in the number of paupers.

During the Napoleonic wars the agricultural communities had made handsome profits despite their heavy taxation. However, with the advent of peace, prosperity declined sharply. The situation was exacerbated when troops were demobilized for, though they flooded the job market, they largely remained unemployed. The wartime industries, no longer necessary, were closed down. The price of corn soon fell and within a short while the population of wage-earners had become a population of paupers.

The alienation caused by the industrialization of Britain came about as much through the machinery itself as through the industrialists who owned it: factory owners did not know their staff by name or by sight. In the "old" England whose passing Mrs Harris laments, vertical communication had seemed good: there had been a closer

relationship between the country farmers and landlords and their labourers, tenants and hand-loom weavers. But now the farmers rose in social status; their labourers began to value their individual worth which, they believed, merited reward. The result was that the social or class gap widened.

The poem records a class-based attitude to these changes. The "Mrs Harris" cited is a conservative woman, firmly resisting the changes which were occurring around her. For Mrs Harris and her class these social changes were rapid; like the "whirlwind of inventions", they seemed like a "steeple chase" to her. There is an ironical tone to the soliloquy and it may be more than coincidence that the "Mrs Harris" mentioned had her real counterpart in Louisa Harris, Lady Frances Cole's aunt. Perkin points out that "those who thought women should stick with the old ways were regarded as conspiring to keep them in domestic bondage" (104), particularly regarding the kind of home activities mentioned in the poem.

These were not the only changes with which Louisa Harris disagreed. In 1813 she wrote to her elder sister, Katherine, expressing distaste at certain of the changes in education that were taking place:

I much approve this new adopted plan of education [on a] large scale in great towns, but I am by no means convinced ... the Primer, the Psalter, the Common Prayer, the Testament and the Bible are not the only books essential for the instruction of the humble Cottager - I do not fear they might by this new fashioned system acquire so much learning as to make them mad - but without acquiring enough to make them perfectly reasonable, they might attain enough to render them perfectly dissatisfied with their lowly situation, feeling themselves qualified to fulfil a higher - Miss Cozens does not agree with me and we have amicable and temperate disputes on the subject - but I have formed my opinion on what is conviction to my way of thinking ... I shall therefore pursue the old beaten path.⁶

Similarly, "Mrs Harris" in the soliloquy imparts to the rise of democracy and the development of a popular voice part responsibility for the "levelling" that she encounters. The spinning jennies and odd machines of the economic revolution in Britain had their counterparts of "progress" and "reform" in the political change that was occurring: they were the political apophthegms of the age. Although in the poem Mrs Harris expresses her sense of the "mingling" of all classes, this was not quite true. The sense of coalescence emanated from the fact that the middle class was broadening in nature: a lower middle class and an upper middle class were being formed - in effect forcing the upper class and the working class farther apart. The upper class represented authority and received the support and backing of the ruling class in the countryside, the landowners, who rose in social standing as they prospered. The harmony that had existed between the landowners and the rising moneyed upper middle-class was disappearing. Such change seemed intrusive to the middle-aged Harris women, living in the country as they did. They believed that change was proper for the "great towns" only.

Louisa Harris described exactly the "old beaten path" which she intended to pursue: "to instruct my Scholars in whatever I think important and useful for them to understand and leave all the injurious devices of Local boards &c &c &c in the possession of my opponents."⁷ As a member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Louisa Harris staunchly supported and taught at this local charity school.⁸ In The Whig Supremacy, Williams summarized the general motivations of such persons of substance:

The curriculum was very limited, being confined to religious instruction, reading and writing, and, for specially bright boys, simple arithmetic, with needlework for the girls. The main object was, in fact, to establish social discipline among the poor ... for underlying the subscribers' benevolence was generally the fixed determination to do nothing to break through the rigid class system and to keep the poor in their place.

Miss Cozens disagreed with Louisa Harris' convictions concerning the effects of the newly adopted plan of national education upon the country cottagers. Louisa herself admitted that she had little knowledge of mathematics and saw little purpose in teaching it: "[I] feel I have conveyed more important information to the minds of fifteen of the children by making them understand the difference between a hearer and a doer of the word, than if I had instructed them in the rule of three which by the bye I could not, as I never learnt it myself."⁹

Miss Cozens and her sister, Lisinka, lived together in Reading at this time. It is certain that they would have discussed the opinions held by Louisa Harris on education; indeed they may have been amused at her stubborn resistance to change. The few pieces of poetry Lisinka chose to copy out in her journal had the family members as their subjects. Lady Dufferin's verse may have been slipped in as apposite family comment.

The Cozens' inhabited a world the social order of which was changing relatively rapidly. Heavy taxes and disappointing harvests contributed to the general losses of the wealthy land-owners, who could bear them to a certain extent because their income derived from their ownership of land. The tenant-farmers, however, could not sustain such losses and turned to the Corn laws for protection, demanding a tariff for corn production and banning any imports of it until the price in Britain was acceptable to them. The anti-Corn law riots broke out on 6 March 1815, and the mob, when successfully prevented from storming the Parliament buildings, turned to attacking the private homes of certain politicians connected with the bill. One of the homes ransacked in Old Burlington Street, Mayfair, was that of Frederick Robinson, MP and Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose wife, Katherine Gertrude, was the sister of James Harris, 1st Earl of Malmesbury, and aunt of Lady Catherine Bell and Lady Frances Cole.

At the other end of the political and social scale the working class, which was quickly developing into the proletariat, was becoming poorer and estranged from the other classes above it. As the soliloquy points out, old prejudices and abuses were being dismissed in the rush for progress whether of a radical or a rational kind. The result: "no body has time to help his neighbour."

The growth of the population and the possibilities machinery presented for the mass production of newspapers meant that the "public voice" presented in them had a great influence on the people and, as "Mrs Harris" said: "there's a rage for questioning, & meddling now a days."

The result of this progress that seemed so rapid was psychological unease. Neighbours had no time to help one another, basic tenets were questioned, and authority was tested. David Craig, writing of the Industrial Revolution in England, points out that the changes "happened fast enough to cause actual bewilderment" (Craig 14). By 1830 there were approximately nine daily newspapers in London and a great number of Journals and Gazettes: few other reading materials could reach so many in relatively so little time. The development of new methods of transport and, more particularly, better roads, meant that the news could be gathered, as well as distributed, more quickly. For example, Johnson points out that the news of the Battle of Waterloo was published by the Morning Chronicle four days later, apparently having travelled four hundred kilometres by mounted courier to London, and having been typeset and then printed on a steam-driven, reel-fed rotary press. (948-51)

Mentioned in the soliloquy, the omnibus was one of the mechanical innovations which speeded travel. The first regular ones were introduced to London in 1829: "now constructing to run between London and Brighton, and from Gravesend to Canterbury. The luggage [to] be conveyed in a well under the body of the carriage."¹⁰ Railways and canals, bridges and better roads were being developed and built.

In this new atmosphere of easier travel and the faster transportation of luggage and cargo over greater distances, the depressed economy and greater impoverishment turned people's minds more readily to the possibility of emigration, particularly so because news was being received from the colonies in North America, New South Wales, and to a lesser extent, from the Cape of Good Hope.

"I am sorry for what you say of the Emigrants but not surprised," wrote Louisa Harris to her elder sister in the Spring of 1814.¹¹ Although officials at the Cape of Good Hope had requested Lord Bathurst to send out British settlers in 1813, it was not until

1817, in the time of Lord Charles Somerset's governorship there, that it became expedient to subsidise settlement. Only a small group of settlers had emigrated to New South Wales by this time. Louisa Harris referred neither to the Cape or to New South Wales, but to the Scottish emigrants who were settling in America to escape poverty and political repression (Johnston ch.1).

The Industrial Revolution altered not only social and political ways of life, but also traditional religious beliefs. The Church of England was losing its strong influence, and Calvinistic Methodism and the evangelical revival were growing. From the ideological gaps that were created interest in new 'scientific' charlatanisms emerged: electrical hypnotism and seances. Life was losing a sense of purpose; there seemed nothing new or powerful enough to replace religion. However, Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), the son of a Broad Churchman, perceived poetry as the new religion and the new science:

Without poetry, our science will appear incomplete; and most of what now passes with us for religion and philosophy will be replaced by poetry. (Arnold 232)

In Hard Times (1854), Charles Dickens (1812-1870) presented Coketown as "the painted face of a savage" (65), a place where religion had been reduced to fact, belief reduced to utility:

You saw nothing in Coketown but what was severely workful. If the members of a religious persuasion built a chapel there - as the members of eighteen religious persuasions had done - they made it a pious warehouse of red brick, with sometimes (but this only in highly ornamented examples) a bell in a bird-cage on the top of it ... First, the perplexing mystery of the place was, Who belonged to the eighteen denominations? Because, whoever did, the labouring people did not. (Dickens 65-66)

In Middlemarch George Eliot (1819-1880) writes of the reforms that irrupted the country communities. Although Eliot published it bi-monthly between 1871 and 1872,

the novel is set in the period just before the Reform Bill of 1832, and in a fictitious country town: Middlemarch. Eliot had grown up during those years and had a wide experience of country living due to the fact that her father had been the manager of several estates. Tertius Lydgate, a surgeon who purchases a practice in Middlemarch, is told by the Rev. Camden Farebrother about the religious changes that he has witnessed:

When I was young, Mr Lydgate, there never was any question about right and wrong. We knew our catechism, and that was enough; we learned our creed and our duty. Every respectable Church person had the same opinions. But, now if you speak out of the Prayer-book itself, you are liable to be contradicted. (Eliot 200)

Lady Dufferin's "Mrs Harris" believes that public opinion questions and shapes private beliefs: "a minister can't change his mind, without such a stir & fuss / That one would think the 'public voice' was some huge Omnibus." Whether a politician or a clergyman, a public man was expected to subscribe to the prevalent opinion of his day.

The Oxford Movement sprang up in 1833 in response to the new liberalism in the Church of England and to the general spirit of lack of meaning in religion and life. If religion failed to provide a reasoned purpose for life, salvation was presented as a fruit of man's labour: despair was to be found in idleness. The significance of work and its new role is set out clearly by Thomas Carlyle in Past and Present:

For there is a perennial nobleness, and even sacredness, in Work. Were he never so benighted, forgetful of his high calling, there is always hope in a man that actually and earnestly works: in Idleness alone is there perpetual despair. Work ... is in communication with Nature ... The latest Gospel in this world is, Know thy work and do it. (Carlyle 189)

In the following Chapter, Carlyle defines religion as "all true work", adding the weight of a worthy Latin proverb to his argument: "Laborare est Orare" (Work is Worship).

In Mauritius and, afterwards, at the Cape of Good Hope, Lady Frances Cole would subscribe to Carlyle's maxim, supporting the Church and taking part in its activities. "Every day convinces me idleness is indeed the root of all evil!" she told her

mother.¹² However, her charitable actions would be sharply contrasted with her lifestyle in the colonies, which, in every respect, was modelled upon the idle existence expected of an upper-class British woman.

Notes

- 1 [Latin] "A slip of the tongue, a mistake in uttering a word, an imprudent word inadvertently spoken" (Brewer 623).
- 2 Elizabeth Cozens, journal, PRO 30/43/121.
- 3 i.e. Lady Malmesbury.
- 4 Commander Price Blackwood's two brothers were deceased by 1825.
- 5 Lady Catherine Bell, poetry book, PRO 30/43/44/1-3.
- 6 Louisa Harris, letter to Katherine Harris, 6 June 1813, PRO 30/43/5.
- 7 Louisa Harris, letter to Katherine Harris, 6 June 1813, PRO 30/43/5.
- 8 Louisa Harris, letter to Katherine Harris, 28 Apr. 1811, PRO 30/43/5.
- 9 Louisa Harris, letter to Katherine Harris, 6 June 1813, PRO 30/43/5.
- 10 South African Commercial Advertiser 1 May 1830.
- 11 Louisa Harris, letter to Hon. Mrs Robinson, 18 Apr. 1814, PRO 30/43/5.
- 12 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 13 Oct. 1828, PRO 30/43/34.

CHAPTER TWO

Silence

Introduction

When the schoolgirl Helen Burns is scolded in class for having dirty fingernails and her acquaintance Jane Eyre remarks, "I wondered at her silence", it is a silence which signifies meaning. There is more to the silence than meets the teacher's ear: "Why does she not explain that she could neither clean her nails nor wash her face, as the water was frozen?" wonders Jane (59). Charlotte Brontë uses Jane as her focalizer and narrator, to question and so interpret for the reader the meaning of the silence (Rimmon-Kenan 70-85).

In the same manner, it is necessary to understand certain of the silences encountered in Lisinka's journal in order that we may comprehend the complexities of her position in an early nineteenth-century household. Although Swindells challenges the "accumulation of introductions, epilogues, forewords, commentaries" that serve as focalizers for the lives and writings of nineteenth-century women (185-198), it is important to discuss these general aspects of Lisinka's existence because, as will become apparent, her individual voice was subsumed under the life of the family to which she devoted her life. In certain respects in Lisinka's journal we possess a unique document of an upper middle-class woman with which may be compared other contemporary journals e.g. Sophia Pigot (1819-21) and Lady Jane Franklin (1836). However, first it is necessary to examine Lisinka's silence in terms of the gendered world in which she lived and travelled.

Three Aspects of Silence

The ladies who populated drawing-rooms ... those of thousands of upper middle-class business and professional families - are largely unknown to us.(Peterson 1)

Just such a group of "ladies who populated drawing-rooms" were gathered in the drawing-room of a country cottage ten miles outside Cape Town, in April 1830. Providing us with the only outsider's view of the Governor's family which we possess, an American officer and "tourist", Mr Stewart, recorded the event in his journal:

We had been apprised that it was but a family party we were to join; and on entering the drawing-room found just the circle that those long cut off from the enjoyment of refined and polished society would wish to meet, divested of everything like the formality and etiquette of an entertainment of state.

Lady Frances with two or three female companions and four lovely daughters from 5 to 12 years of age; the Governor and his Aide-de-Camps [sic] military and civil; the Attorney-General and lady, the Surgeon of the household and one or two young officers in the uniform of the Scotch regiments constituted the numbers. The General¹ in the full uniform of his rank, scarlet with epaulets and cordons of gold, received us in the centre of the room and after an interchange of salutations presented each of our company in order to his lady and then to the party in general.

Nothing in a family circle has a greater charm for me than a group of well-managed and lovely children ... every look and every action told that they had been trained by no inferior hand.²

The United States Corvette Vincennes, en route from Manila to America, had arrived in Table Bay on 8 April 1830.³ On Wednesday 14 April, Captain W.B. Finch, Commander of the vessel, and two of his officers - Mr Stewart and Dr Maloney - dined at Protea, the Governor's country house. Lisinka should have been given some of the credit for the fine manners and behaviour of the Coles' daughters recorded by Mr Stewart that evening.

Remarkably, Lisinka's name is absent from Mr Stewart's account, although we are certain that she was physically present. Her journal records the meeting, the dinner and the names of all three of the American visitors (14 Apr.). Lisinka, therefore, was collapsed namelessly into the phrase, "two or three female companions", a silent witness of the social proceedings at Protea. In her journal Lisinka records neither her impressions nor her feelings upon this occasion.

Lisinka's silence in this instance is meaningless if no significance may be attached to it. If it were born of the shyness experienced by Charlotte Brontë, for example, and we had her words as reported by Mrs Gaskell with which to interpret it, viz. "I notice that after a stranger has once looked at my face he is careful not to let his eyes wander to that part of the room again" (Fraser 441), we should be able to deduce some meaning. In Lisinka's journal there are many such silences which remain blanks; however, certain lacunae exist which help us to form some impression of her life precisely because valuable clues exist externally which give them meaning. Beyond the silence which signifies nothing there is the gendered silence of women's behaviour and writing in the early nineteenth century, in the light of which we may interpret Lisinka's silence of the 14 April as culturally bound. As such, it must be pointed out that Lisinka's silence may be capable of being variously interpreted; however, it is necessary to examine some aspects of this in relation to the social world before turning to Lisinka's journal itself.

Silence has a threefold aspect when studied under the spotlight of women's writing in the early nineteenth century. Firstly, silence concerning authorship permitted

women to write, circulate, and even publish their writing, without exposing themselves either to adverse publicity or to false praise.

Although it is clear that Lisinka's journal was not written for publication, her anonymity or silent authorship of it is remarkable. The title page of Lisinka's journal bears no identification other than the words: "Continuation of Lisinka's journal" - probably written by a later reader. Were it not for the fact that several documents that refer to Lisinka exist amongst the Cole papers, we would not be able to connect her with the family history. Five letters, written by Lisinka herself, are our only means of identifying her as Miss Elizabeth Cozens.

Lady Dufferin, author of the poem found in Lisinka's journal, wrote for publication - albeit anonymously. Her only play, Finesse, or a Busy Day in Messina, was first performed at the Haymarket Theatre, London, in 1863. During its long run Lady Dufferin neither acknowledged her authorship nor attended a performance. Although her songs and poems were published anonymously during her lifetime, her memoir remained unpublished until twenty-seven years after her death in 1867 (Leslie 52:77-78). The appearance of her poem, Mrs Harris' Soliloquy while threading her needle, as an adjunct to Lisinka's journal, is interesting because it attributes her authorship privately which she was so assiduous in concealing publicly. Her marked public silence regarding authorship was motivated by the same impulses which prompted certain women authors to publish under male noms de plume.

The women who first published works under the names Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell, and George Eliot, are well known - the Brontë sisters and Mary Anne Evans. Their motives for writing under pseudonyms included their desires to gain a fair, unbiased hearing in a male dominated world and to win the freedom to be heard. In The Brontës, Fraser quotes Charlotte Brontë's explanation for this:

Averse to personal publicity, we veiled our own names ... we had a vague impression that authoresses are liable to be looked on with prejudice; we had noticed how critics sometimes use for their

chastisement the weapon of personality, and for their reward, a flattery, which is not true praise.(qtd. in Fraser 250)

It was during the first two decades of the nineteenth century that the novel-writing tradition was being examined, fixed and defined as an institution. In other words, the essence of the novels already in existence enabled a retrospective history of the novel to be compiled (Watt 9). Armstrong argues that in the process of this construction, the novel became gendered (ch. 2). Before this, certain novels had been assessed politically in terms of their authors' authority as specialists in their particular fields of labour; however, early in the nineteenth century, the sexual identities of the authors became the standards for evaluation - precisely what Charlotte Brontë recognised as "the weapon of personality" (qtd. in Fraser 250). Gorsky explains the ambivalent position in which the Brontës found themselves:

Critics who thought the novels of "Currer, Acton, and Ellis Bell" were unique and powerful reclassified the books as minor women's novels after identifying the authors as Charlotte, Anne, and Emily Brontë.(154)

The poet Robert Southey (1774-1843) believed that women should keep their creative writing for private use only and, in a letter of March 1837, he told Charlotte Brontë: "Literature cannot be the business of a woman's life, and it ought not to be" (qtd. in Fraser 109).

In her introduction to Desire and Domestic Fiction, Armstrong describes the shift of artistic inspiration which occurred in the late eighteenth century, displacing the female Muse from her poetic pedestal and replacing her with the interior authority of self-knowledge and passion.

In Defoe's novels, such as Journal of the Plague Year (1722) and Roxana (1724), fiction is presented with the authority of factual representation. By the time that Charlotte Brontë was writing she specifically identified her work as based upon her personal experience of emotional truth:

Unless I have something of my own to say, and a way of my own to say it in, I have no business to publish. Unless I can look beyond the greatest Masters, and study Nature herself, I have no right to paint. Unless I can have the courage to use the language of Truth in preference to the jargon of Conventuality, I ought to be silent.(Brontë to Mr Williams, qtd. in Fraser 312).

Exactly what kind of subject matter was believed appropriate for truthful exposition had been prescribed already. Armstrong points out that political statements were denied women authors whose realm of discourse was confined to matters of emotional import, morality, and domesticity (ch. 2). John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) was well aware of the prescriptive quality of men's influence upon women's literary writing:

It is but of yesterday that women have either been qualified by literary accomplishments, or permitted by society, to tell anything to the general public. As yet very few of them dare tell anything, which men, on whom their literary success depends, are unwilling to hear.(Mill 98).

In awarding value to subjects which, by their very nature, were trivial, men tended to proscribe and shape women's writing. As Mill had asserted, women's literary success depended upon men's assessment of their writing. Women were given the authority to write literature and poetry, but in the gendered designation of their power of influence, were denied the authority to write on political and scientific matters (Strobel 36-39; Gorsky 3). Poovey points out that the Lady's Magazine "rarely report[ed] any political events" (17).

This second aspect of women's silence concerns that of self-censorship. Upon the gendered plane of discourse, women wrote of that which they were permitted to and were supposed to be silent concerning the remainder. The silence to which Charlotte Brontë refers is therefore a partial one, excluding political, scientific, and other subject matter regarded as being within the male domain of discourse. Writing as she does within the parameters set for women writers, she presents her emotional truth with authority. In Jane Eyre's confrontation with Mrs Reed, Brontë empowers her character

with the strength of moral truth which compels her to speak out against her false accuser:

Speak I must: I had been trodden on severely, and must turn: but how? What strength had I to dart retaliation at my antagonist? ...'I am not deceitful: if I were, I should say I loved you; but I declare I do not love you...'.(42)

When Mrs Reed asks Jane how she dares to affirm her cruelty, Jane replies: "How dare I? Because it is the truth" (43). In women's private writing as in literature, a form of authority arose from her experience. Experience, with the passion it invoked, provided the inspiration for self-expression. It is this compulsion to speak out - "speak I must" - which is somewhat depreciatingly termed "an itch for scribbling" in the introduction to Miss Weeton's Journal of a Governess (1969).

When Watt writes that "the feminine sensibility was in some ways better equipped to reveal the intricacies of personal relationships and was therefore at a real advantage in the realm of the novel" (298), he reflects the same attitude to women's writing expressed by James Harris (1709-1780) late in 1777.

Katherine Gertrude Harris (afterwards the Hon. Mrs Robinson), who accompanied her diplomatist brother, James, to St. Petersburg in 1770, corresponded regularly with her father in England during her absence. In one reply her father suggested exactly the kind of subjects which he considered not only her domain but also that of her sister's:

Your letters are not only a perpetual memorial of you, but a perpetual entertainment withal ... Write your sentiments, as you have hitherto, nor on any account omit your observations, nor the recital of facts of every sort. Difference gives a value even to Trifles, nor are many things Trifles, which appear so to fools ... 'Tis the [function] of a Telescope, for the remoter the objects, they seem the greater and more brilliant. I could prove this assertion to you by Experiments, like a modern Philosopher, that is to say by a Recital of Balls, Plays, Assemblies,

Concerts, Squabbles, Reconciliations, Brawn, Plumb Broth, Father Christmas, etc. did I not flatter myself my Louisa would do the subjects much better.⁴ Tis she must verify the truth of my speculation.⁵

Although James Harris awarded value to the contents of his eldest daughter's letters, nonetheless he encouraged her to remove their subject matter entirely from the male sphere of discourse. Trifles, in his opinion, were to be the subject of women's letters; entertainment was to be the objective.

In awarding a value to trifles when discussed by women, James Harris not only prescribed what he believed ought to be written by women to men, reflecting the general male opinion of his time, but he also delivered an ambivalent judgement concerning what men believed was truly important to women.

Most interesting, however, is the fact that Mr Harris requests his daughters to concern themselves with trifles which, in their writing, cease to be trifles altogether because they have considerably better abilities than do men to write about them. Women's writing is thus praised and disparaged at the same moment. James Harris then invokes scientific language - the language of male discourse: telescope, experiments, and philosopher - to suggest that he could write about such trivialities himself "did I not flatter myself my Louisa would do the subjects much better". In the gendered order of things, men's domain of discourse included science and politics, whilst women's domain of discourse included domestic matters, social gossip, and trivialities.

Sir George Murray (1772-1846), who served with Sir Lowry Cole in the British Occupation of France after Waterloo, wrote to Lady Frances Cole from Paris early in 1816:

Dear Lady Frances, How great an advantage a Lady's correspondence has over a gentleman's! Sir Lowry bores one about the moving of a regiment and about a Barracks Regulation, subjects to which he may be dull enough to attach some importance at Cambray. But in Paris a letter about a Cap to be bought in the Passage de l'Aisne is far more interesting and more certain of being attended to! I shall go about your

commission this morning and shall do my best to equal Sir Lowry in taste.⁶

The subject matter of the original letter - a cap for Lady Frances Cole's first child - trivial as it seemed, was given the appearance of an interesting and entertaining request and Sir George Murray used a military term to describe his male, soldier-like acquiescence. At the same time, however, he reduced the importance of men's military interests - they were made to sound boring and dull. This trivialization of men's world affairs was necessary for the engrandizement of women's world affairs and vice versa. As Armstrong stresses, this was a gendered world (ch. 2). The dichotomy was created: women's subjects, though trivial, were interesting to men; on the other hand, men's subjects, though boring and dull, were inaccessible to women.

There were occasions when this division ^{and} partial silence based upon gender became less important: when the communication was being addressed to a member of the opposite sex for their information. The letter quoted above from Sir George Murray to Lady Frances Cole is written around the subject of a baby's christening-cap. Amongst the Cole Papers are some sets of daily letters written by Lady Malmesbury to her husband during the 1790s which, clearly in their content and by their being bound in a book form along with French newspaper reports of parliamentary matters, are intended to function as a political journal.

Writing on the subject of Lady Malmesbury's journals, Maud Lowry Cole commented on her interest in politics, perhaps forgetting that these journals were written for her husband primarily, and for circulation within the immediate family:

To judge by her diaries, she was very much interested in public affairs and rather inclined to take a hand in the game herself. Her gossip is always political. She never alludes to the appearance or clothes of her own friends or of the many notabilities she is constantly meeting - always to their politics. She was detached and independent in her views, an outspoken woman, telling the unvarnished truth even to kings. (Cole and Gwynn 115-16)

The words "gossip" and "political" used by Miss Cole juxtapose the realm of discourse considered appropriate to women with the realm of subject matter considered exclusive to men. That Lady Malmesbury was a formidable person is evident from her own journals - disciplined political records written in a firm but often illegible hand.

Katherine Hillard, in the introduction to the edited version of her mother's Journal, comments upon the division of subject matter between her mother's letters and her journal, pointing out that the journal was maintained for the information of her sister:

It is to be regretted that so many of the more intimate details of [Miss H. Low's] life were reserved for home letters (mostly lost) instead of being recorded in this Journal, kept for the benefit of her elder sister. (Hillard vi)

The journals of Lady Anne Barnard (1750-1825) were kept for the same purpose. Robinson writes: "In the case of her sisters she found it most satisfactory to send them an account of her experiences in journal form" (Robinson 3, 1973). We must not ignore the possibility that Lisinka's journal might have been maintained for her sister, Miss Cozens, and for circulation amongst her family, although no evidence for this exists, and the fact that the journal is to be found today amongst the Cole papers may suggest otherwise.

Lady Anne Barnard was aware of the social constraints placed about women's writing and, although she obeyed, she apologized for her compliance. Sensitive as she was to these restrictions, she wrote in one of her early letters to Henry Dundas from Cape Town:

I am perfectly convinced also however that you must receive along with this such numberless letters from others so much better qualified to give you an account of every thing worth your knowing, that it would seem almost conceited folly in me to describe things as they appear around me, or still more to give my miserable female notions on any thing, was it not for the above reason, that your friendship for me will contrive a

general apology for every thing silly or erroneous & while all seems yellow to the jaundiced eye, all will seem rose color & interesting to that partial pair of black sparklers with which you read the Epistels [sic] of your female friends.(Robinson 35, 1973)⁷

Lady Anne Barnard's husband, Andrew, who had served in the same Inniskilling Regiment that Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole would command years later, had been appointed Colonial Secretary to Lord Macartney (1737-1806), the first civilian Governor at the Cape of Good Hope after the British Occupation. The fleet had arrived at the Cape early in May 1797 after a voyage of three months. Once settled, Lady Anne Barnard's letters served not only as a social exchange but also as a reflection of the state of affairs at the Cape to Henry Dundas (1742-1811) who, as Secretary of State for War, had a direct interest in those matters.⁸

Lady Anne Barnard was authorized and used by Dundas to provide a political view of the Cape from her local perspective, therefore her discourse was not confined to domestic matters and social gossip. When Lady Anne had the temerity to seek her husband's advancement, however, she was severely reprimanded in a "terrible letter" from Dundas, in response to which she replied:

I believe I should say something in answer to yours about two words of mine which it will cost me no difficulty to recant because ten to one I have not used the right ones according to the proper meaning of them in what may be called a political negociation [sic].(Robinson 21, 1973)⁹

It is clear that Lady Anne Barnard believed she had misconstrued the meaning of the male-dominated discourse she had appropriated for the expression of her request. On the other hand Henry Dundas invoked the tacitly understood gendered division of discourse to indicate that she had overstepped the mark, to which she replied: "if I was unreasonable from misapprehending some things it is not unnatural for me to be ignorant on ... why could [sic] you not have Scolded me - but scolded me kindly" (Robinson 21, 1973). Whilst Lady Anne Barnard was unsure of the reason for such

censure, her words illustrate that she understood that there were certain areas of discourse of which it was quite natural for her to be ignorant.

A close reading of her letters at this time introduces a third aspect of women's silence in the early nineteenth century, and returns us to Lisinka's social position at Protea: in mixed company women were expected to be seen but little heard. Writing to Dundas in the Spring of 1796, Lady Anne Barnard wrote: "of late I have been in the way of hearing the governments of Madrass [sic] & Bengal talkd [sic] over, of hearing ... of hearing ... I heard it talkd [sic] of...." (Robinson 19, 1973). The content is not important here, but it is significant that Lady Anne listened to (rather than overheard) male conversation without participating in it. Even though she did converse hurriedly with Dundas at his villa in Wimbledon, she apologised later in a letter "I woud [sic] not intrude myself on you lately, surrounded as you have been with people on business" (Robinson 18, 1973). In the same letter she added:

The conversation I had with you at Wimbledon, was hurried, & you may know that I never possess myself when talking over any matter of business with you in publick.(Robinson 18)

The social constraints of Lady Anne Barnard's time are reflected in her deferential attitude in male company. Women's silence was not restricted merely to the written word. Feminine etiquette demanded such behaviour in mixed company, as illustrated by Poovey: "Modesty will naturally dispose you to be rather silent in company" (qtd. in Poovey 24). It was this silence in company, however, which was intended to communicate meaning, to signify something: "one may take a share in conversation without uttering a syllable. The expression in the countenance shews it, and never escapes an observing eye" (qtd. in Poovey 24).

A great number of etiquette books had begun to appear in the late eighteenth century, some of them written by women, which reinforced the social taboos of the age: "passiveness required of the female sex, the conventions which hedged women around, which prevented them from ever publicly discussing their intimate feelings" (Fraser 386). These books permitted middle-class women to aspire to "ladylike" society. In

other words, gentility could be acquired. Social practices had become customs which, in turn, were recorded as restrictions in these conduct books. Their effect was achieved largely through consent because, as Armstrong shows, moral hegemony formed the base of both public opinion and religious thought (17). Silence, being therefore inextricably bound up with social life, being part of the perceived construct of women's identity, may be understood as an "unwitting conspiracy" amongst humankind (Armstrong ch. 1, pt. 2).

When the Cozens sisters left Louisa Harris, following their happy stay with her in the spring of 1814, it was not without regret. Louisa wrote to her sister, Katherine: "We were all very serious at parting - Miss Cozens would not look at me, Lizinka turned pale, and I remained silent."¹⁰ Anne Brontë wrote eloquently of such a parting and of the silence which played its part in imposing discipline upon the situation whilst revealing emotion. On the eve of her departure from home to become a governess, Agnes Grey reveals her sadness to her sister under the verbal guise of concealing it:

To conceal my emotion, I buried my face in my hands, and they were presently bathed in tears. I perceived, on rising, that she had been crying too: but neither of us spoke; and in silence we betook ourselves to our repose, creeping more closely together from the consciousness that we were to part so soon. (Brontë 23-24)

In company women were expected also to listen without physically taking notes. Lady Anne Barnard was aware that different criteria were applied not only to the writings of men and women but also to the methods that they used to recall details:

I often wish when I hear anything new, curious, or usefull [sic], that I could divest myself of that portion of false shame which prevents me from taking out a memorandum book and marking it down while I remember the particulars which afterwards escape my memory and the thing sinks into oblivion - but for a woman, being ill informed on most subjects, I might have said All subjects, to give herself the air of wisdom, while she knows how superficial she is, by marking down

anything that passes in company, I cannot endure it! ... It is wilfully drawing on a pair of blew [sic] stockings she has no right to wear - in this I often put myself in mind of what an old friend used to say to us when children at her feasts "My dears, eat as much as you can, but pocket nothing" - was I a man I would pocket without shame, it becomes at some time or another usefull [sic] to him, and teaches the mind the good habit of reflecting on what it hears.(Robinson 88, 1973)¹¹

Men could "pocket without shame" as Hollingworth records: "The Nineteenth Century traveller usually kept a diary since he had only a pen with which to capture the fleeting impressions of a stay in far away places" (86). James Harris (1746-1820), later Lord Malmesbury, kept a journal for the greater part of his life. (It was published after his death by his grandson.) Appointed as ambassador to the court of Empress Catherine II of Russia in 1777, Harris travelled extensively throughout Europe during the following nine years. It was a family practice to pass his journal around within its circle periodically. Both Lady Malmesbury, his wife, and Katherine Gertrude, his sister, kept journals also.

It is noticeable that the expression of personal feelings and emotions is lacking in both the diaries and the letters to be found among the Cole Papers. Commenting upon this in the Memoirs, Miss Maud Lowry Cole, grand-daughter of Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, writes:

These people who lived in the most stirring times and had every opportunity of knowing the chief actors in the political drama and of hearing and seeing and understanding the inwardness of the events passing before their eyes, do not seem to have taken advantage of their exceptional opportunities. They all conscientiously kept careful diaries, in which they confided not at all. There is not an entry in either Lady Malmesbury's or Lady Frances Cole's betraying personal feeling or that might not have been shouted on the housetops; and as for Sir Lowry, he appears to have taken little interest in anything but the barometer! And

yet not one of this group wrote for publication. I suppose a decent habit of reserve or reticence was too much for them, or did they lack humour - although the ladies had the character of being witty? Well, we are the losers". (Cole and Gwynn 156-57)

Whilst it is true that the publication of these documents was not intended, at the time that they were written they were intended for circulation - sometimes generally, at other times amongst certain members of the family only. The diaries kept by the family would have been passed around amongst its members for general reading. Later, in Africa, it was understood that letters would be circulated and, regularly, both Lisinka and Lady Frances Cole would add to their correspondence a word or two in their final paragraphs concerning to which person or group of persons the letter ought to be sent. Lisinka, writing to Lady Malmesbury in 1825, added: "I must conclude as I have several other letters to write - have the kindness to forward this to Mrs Robinson with my kind love for I am afraid I shall not be able to write to her this time."¹²

When the Malmesburys' younger daughter, Lady Frances Cole, travelled to Mauritius in 1823, she intended her letters to be read together as a kind of narrative journal. Her correspondence with the Cozens sisters was addressed alternatively to Miss Cozens and to Lisinka: "I will now endeavour to tell you my story taking it up from the conclusion of my letter to Lisha & I think the two together will give you both a pretty correct journal of our proceedings".¹³ Lady Frances Cole kept a journal of her stay in Mauritius and at the Cape of Good Hope. It is probable that her elder sister, Lady Catherine Bell, kept a journal also, although it does not appear to have survived.

As a close friend of this family's, Lisinka no doubt observed their discipline in this area. Whilst there is no evidence to suggest that she kept a journal whilst in England, we know that she did so both in Mauritius and South Africa, with the Lowry Coles. It was possibly her awareness of the time in which she lived, her increased mobility and the novelties that her travels brought into focus in Africa that made it seem appropriate for her to record the events around her.

Lisinka's journal records a great number of facts and very few of her true feelings. Most of the time she is silent concerning her understanding of events, her interpretation of the world around her, and of her personal relationships, yet Lisinka was better educated and better travelled than many of her peers. We know from a letter written by Louisa Harris in 1813 that Lisinka's elder sister, Miss Cozens, held strong opinions concerning educational policies of that time, and there is no reason to surmise that Lisinka disagreed.¹⁴ None of Lisinka's thoughts or arguments survive in writing: her silence on these and many other matters is puzzling unless we consider that it is possible that she, herself, joined in the conspiracy of silence of women of her age.

That Lisinka's journal is amongst the Cole Papers is interesting because, as a record of a stimulating sojourn in a foreign country, it seems surprising that it was not retained by her afterwards as a souvenir. Upon close examination, however, the journal appears to be not so much a personal record of her stay at the Cape but rather a record of the Lowry Coles' life there. Evidence exists to suggest that it was, in part, a calendar of events maintained for Lady Frances Cole's reference: on several occasions when Lisinka spent time away from Lady Frances she ceased to record events for a while.

One entry of hers begins: "I went to Camp's Bay; where I remained till Thursday 9th of December."¹⁵ Her next journal entry is one for the 9th December. Again on 17 March 1831 she writes: "I went to Cape Town ... and remained there for [three] weeks - so that during that period I do not know what was passing at Protea."¹⁶ The following entry is dated 7th April. These lacunae in the journal suggest that Lisinka was recording primarily those events at the Governor's residence which affected both herself and Lady Frances Cole. Details would have been checked later and added to the other's journal if found lacking, although it seems probable that sometimes the converse situation occurred.

In the two entries for 11th and 12th January 1830 Lisinka crossed out the entries and rewrote them in reverse order: clearly she had not written in her journal for two days. Either she ascribed the events of the second day to the first and then had to rewrite the entries, or she copied the facts from Lady Frances' Diary and, in so doing,

misread the dates of the entries. Another possibility, perhaps more remote, is that she kept a rough notebook in which she recorded details, although her entries are generally too short to have warranted the transfer of information. It was only about this time that such actions as keeping notebooks were considered acceptable among women.

When Lady Jane Franklin (1792-1875) visited Cape Town in November 1836 it was easier for women to take notes and write them up afterwards in their journals, although it is questionable how public that note-taking was:

There is considerable evidence that most of Jane's journals were written several months after the events which they record, from rough notes taken at the time on any scraps of paper that came to hand (or failing any paper, so a niece was to assert, on her thumbnail!). (Warner 2)

Lady Jane had already travelled extensively when she arrived at the Cape, accompanying her husband, Sir John Franklin (1786-1847), to Van Diemen's Land where he had been appointed as the Lieutenant Governor. Each previous journey that she had made had been written up, whether it was a one-week visit to Oxford (1809) or a two-year tour of Switzerland and Italy (1814-1816), which had given her "ample opportunities to develop her diarizing" (Warner 2). Lady Jane Franklin's Journal provides a detailed account of some of the Cape's most distinguished residents. For example, during their fortnight's visit to the Cape, they met the Herschels, Sir John Herschel being an old friend of Sir John's.

Her lengthy accounts of the Cape's finest natural scenes at the beginning of the Victorian age, and the amount of detail which she introduces into her journal, shows that some aide mémoire must have been used besides the references given from published works that she had obviously consulted, e.g. the visit to the wine farm Groot Constantia and the subsequent discussion with Mr Cloete concerning the colonial Cape Government's claim of certain quantities of Constantia wine at fixed prices compared with the account given by Holman (Warner 18-20).

In addition to the methods she employed in reminding herself of the facts she required, Lady Jane Franklin also seems free of the generic constraint on her feelings in

her journal. Such an example is the apparent disappointment caused by the cancelled walk up Table Mountain:

I was woke with the information ... that there was a S.E. wind & a cloud on the mountain & that it would be madness to go. Having heard every body say that it was exceedingly dangerous to be caught with a S.E. wind on the mt. which causes its Table cloth to fall thickly upon it & thus presents an impenetrable barrier to the sight, I did not hesitate to resign myself to my unhappy fate ... This did not prevent me from feeling much mortification, when about 11 o'clock, I found the mountain perfectly cloudless & the day by far the finest & clearest we had yet had. It would not at that hour have been too late to go up, had not all the previous arrangements which had been formed for the purpose, been destroyed. (Warner 38-39)

In Lisinka's journal there are occasions where she, too, breaks the generic constraint, for example, her fatigue after the St. George's Church foundation-stone laying ceremony; her elation at the May day celebration; and her sense of the sublimity of Captain Markham's military funeral.¹⁷ There is also the hint of a great personal tragedy at the end of 1831.

It is remarkable that an entry in Lisinka's journal for the first day of January 1832 should expose such despairing emotion as she expresses:

I was in my room the whole day. May the heavy chastisement of the Lord, be for my eternal happiness & welfare! One of my dearest earthly hopes has been destroyed! (1 Jan. 1832)

Here we encounter a breaking down of the reserve or reticence which has characterized her journal entries hitherto. Lisinka exposes her true feelings on this occasion. Although she had written about her feelings at the foundation-stone laying ceremony of St George's Church, and of her response to the Military Funeral of the young Captain Markham, never before has she mentioned in her Journal her own hopes or dreams - let alone their being shattered.

Some event or some news must have caused this reaction. It is necessary to consider carefully the events directly preceding this unhappy day. Lady Frances Cole's journal provides us with no clues; however, Lisinka's journal entries for the last two days of 1830 may provide us with the beginning of a hint. Friday 30 December was a busy day at Protea:

Innumerable visitors came this day, chiefly passengers by the Caesar & Triumph. Mr Norman & Mr Torrens dined at Protea. I was in my room all the day.

At first it may seem as if bad news had so distressed Lisinka that she stayed in her room. The previous evening Lisinka had received word of Mrs Carmen's death. Yet, the following day's entry shows that Lisinka accompanied Colonel Wade to Cape Town:

The Jordison arrived from England Friday evening - Alfred Harris came in her. I received a letter from Julia giving me an account of her dear Mother's death, on the 3d September. I went to Town with Col. Wade & returned early. The Blakes called - & Mr & Mrs Wells, to take leave. The Commodore & Capt. Henry, the Bells and Alfred Harris came to Protea. I dined in my own room. (31 Dec. 1832).

The news brought from England by the Triumph and the Jordison (the Caesar had sailed from India) must have been distressing. Yet, if a comparison were to be made with the receipt of the news of Lady Malmesbury's death in Lisinka's journal entry of 2 November 1830, it will be seen that Lisinka did not remain in her room on that occasion. Perhaps Lisinka's withdrawal to her room proceeded from another cause.

Lisinka was not ill, although she did possess a weak constitution, as Lord Malmesbury had noted in 1820: "she was not quite well part of the time she stayed with us. She is now better, but she certainly has not a stout constitution."¹⁸ The climate at Mauritius and at the Cape must have agreed with Lisinka as she was seldom ill. In the three years altogether, she spent only ten days in bed on the five separate occasions of illness recorded in her journal.¹⁹ Lisinka always made a note in her journal if she was

unwell and, on this day no mention is made of her condition, therefore we must look for another cause of Lisinka's distress.

An indication is given in quite a different entry in her Journal, that of Wednesday 4 August 1830, which is designated by Lisinka "A memorable day!". Examination of the circumstances surrounding that day make it a curious entry: on 24 July, Dr Dyce had pronounced Arthur to have Scarlet Fever and successively, first William and then Henrietta caught the disease. As a result of this young Frances Cole was removed from the house to stay with Lady Catherine Bell, her aunt, and Lady Frances Cole herself withdrew from her children in case she too caught the disease. Sir Lowry Cole was absent, perhaps at some official function, which possibly left one person at the dinner table with Lisinka that Wednesday evening: Mr Arthur Balfour.

Lieutenant Arthur Lowry Balfour of the 72nd Highlanders had arrived at the Cape on board the Boyne, a fast-sailing ship of 619 tons, on 20 December 1829. Also on board had been Francis Balfour, his brother. Their mother, Florence Cole, happened to be Sir Lowry Cole's favourite sister, and so the Balfour brothers were the Coles' nephews. Together with Colonel Wade, his wife and family, they had sailed from England on 29 September, the ship being under the command of Captain D. Warren. Immediately upon their arrival they had visited the Governor's residence, where they would have met the family and, of course, Lisinka.

Lisinka dined again with Frances Balfour in her company at the end of January. With great consistency Lisinka distinguishes in her Journal between Mr Balfour, that is Francis Lowry Balfour, and Mr A. or Mr Arthur Lowry Balfour, his brother.

On 27 April, while the rest of the family went to Town to attend the Races, Lisinka, Mr Francis Balfour, and the Rev. Cooke remained at Protea. The family party on 1 May, Sir Lowry's birthday, would have again included the figure of Francis in the large company. Later that year, on 4 August, we find the entry: "A memorable day! Mr Arthur Balfour dined here." We must read the two parts of Lisinka's entry separately. The fact that Arthur Balfour dined with Lisinka was unusual; the day was memorable for quite another reason.

Lady Frances Cole's journal records also the arrival of the Balfour brothers in Cape Town, but then does not mention Francis at all again, yet she also always distinguishes Mr A. Balfour. Where Lisinka had noted in her journal that "Mr B. came to stay at Protea" (15 Feb. 1830), Lady Frances mentions no such event. The 5 August is passed in her journal with no mention of anything special happening for Lisinka: Lady Frances dined alone that evening. Two days later there suddenly is a change: "Franco went to Simon's Town."²⁰ Again two days passed. She recorded: "Franco returned from Simon's Bay." Perhaps it could be expected that a move to Simonstown made by her husband's aide-de-camp warranted such an entry or two; however, once Franco had returned the entries continued and, on four more occasions before the end of 1830, Franco is mentioned.²¹ He had now come to interest her whereas before he had not been noticed at all. Her mention of his first name in her journal is also significant.

Lisinka continued to distinguish Mr Balfour from Mr A. (or Arthur) Balfour and, by the time the first South Easter of 1831 blew she could record: "Mr Balfour and I, dined at Mr Henry Cloete's" (30 Aug. 1831). It is important that, although Mr Francis Balfour resided with the Coles as part of their family, he was not mentioned in the daily journal entries. Therefore, at dinner with Lisinka on that memorable day in early August was not only Mr Arthur Balfour but also his brother, Mr Francis Balfour. It was the latter in whom Lisinka had become emotionally interested and, for her, it had become "A memorable day!"

Mr Francis Balfour's subsequent departure from the Cape, on 15 March 1832, was thus recorded with regret. A deep affection had grown between Lisinka and Francis Balfour. Lady Frances Cole recorded in her journal:

Very heavy rain ... continued the whole day with little intermission.

Dear Franco took leave of us immediately after breakfast, embarked at noon ... and sailed at 3pm for England!

It was a sudden departure: Francis had booked his passage on board the Duke of Buccleugh the very same day. Lisinka's entry for that Thursday completes the sad picture: "Franco left us! It was a most melancholy day, morally & physically." The

entry for Friday, the following day, is left blank. This gap in the text may be read most eloquently of all Lisinka's silences, because we know its cause.

With the loss of Lisinka's opportunity for marrying into the family with which she had invested so much of her time, we must also include the fact of her lost opportunity for escaping the life of being a companion in a foreign country. In Charlotte Brontë's *Villette*, Lucy Snowe, who has travelled abroad as a companion to teach, develops affection for Dr John Bretton, and then falls in love with Professor Paul Emanuel. The latter gentleman sets up Lucy Snowe as a teacher in his own school and, declaring his promise of love for her, sets sail, possibly never to return (448-50). Marriage is as elusive for Lucy Snowe as it was for Lisinka. Once they had left England and become companions their situations were set. In the exchange of their loss of status in English society for the gain of less ambiguous status and the possibility of happiness as companions abroad, marriage became the only escape. We know that Lucy Snowe was of a marriageable age, but what about Lisinka?

Beyond our knowledge that Lisinka's birthday was celebrated on 1 March, we do not know either her year of birth or the date of her death. From the Cole Papers, however, we may draw some conclusions about her age. Lord Malmesbury had described Lisinka in 1817 as "a very excellent girl".²² Lisinka's elder sister, Harriet Cozens, had been a scholar of the late Miss Davis, mentioned in Lord Malmesbury's correspondence of 24 November 1799.²³ It is known that Lady Malmesbury also had been taught by Miss Davis and, even if the two women were not graduates of the same class, we do gain an impression of Harriet's age. From a letter written from Port Louis in June 1825, we learn that Lady Frances Cole regarded Harriet Cozens as her friend. She begins:

My dearest Co. As I never quite trust to my mother's communicating with my friends as quickly as I could wish, I must send you a few lines in my own hand.²⁴

From the fact that Lisinka became Lady Frances Cole's companion and was to be found with her still in 1842, the year of Sir Lowry Cole's death, we may assume that the two

women were of a similar age. Yet, the evidence that Lisinka's sewing was superior and that Frances' eyesight was not as sharp for such activities, may indicate that Lisinka was the elder of the two.

We may estimate Lisinka's age at between forty-eight and fifty years in 1832. This conclusion appears reasonable when compared with Lisinka's letter written from Cape Town on 1 May 1830, in which she states:

I hope you are pleased with your new Great Niece - it makes me feel very old to think that I remember the Birth of the Bridegroom! All your Nieces and Nephews here great & small, are very prosperous.²⁵

Lisinka's disappointment most likely emanated from her shattered last hopes for marriage, and what would have amounted to a connection with the family. From the Cole Papers subsequent to that time, no evidence exists that Lisinka later married.

The prospects of marriage for a single woman, such as Lisinka, at the Cape of Good Hope may have been neither better nor worse than for a single woman in England. Collier wrote: "Cape Town felt the impact of the industrial revolution at second-hand" (83). The Napoleonic Wars in Europe had affected the sex ratio firstly, by removing men physically from British society for some years, many of whom were killed in battle; and secondly, by demobilizing the soldiers at the end of the wars and returning them to that society which then had no place for them. Emigration became an attractive alternative to poverty and demands of class. At the Cape of Good Hope, settler society was male dominated and women tended to be regarded as a civilizing influence amongst the rough pioneers. If, in England, rules of class prevented women from marrying either beneath or above their station; at the Cape colony this class system was rigidly maintained, if only by the expatriates living there.

It is known that Lady Frances Cole was eager to maintain not only her own but also her servants' status while abroad. A letter she wrote from Mauritius is quite explicit regarding this: "My domestics show no inclination to form alliances which I am not sorry for."²⁶ If Lisinka had formed an alliance of her own accord, it may not be improbable that Lady Frances might, likewise, have withheld her approval. Whilst it

may have been true, as Jane Austen wrote, that Francis Balfour was "a single man in possession of a good fortune ... in want of a wife" (51), it may also have been true that Lady Frances had other ideas for Lisinka. It is certain that marriage would have isolated Lisinka from the Coles' family circle. It may be that Lisinka viewed such a possibility of isolation as an attractive alternative to her incongruent status at the Cape of Good Hope. It is sufficient to know that early in January 1832 Lisinka was devastated by circumstances and that her parting with Francis Lowry Balfour must have been similar to that of Lucy Snowe and Professor Paul Emanuel:

We parted. He gave me his pledge, and then his farewell. We parted.

The next day he sailed.(Brontë 448)

Notes

- 1 i.e. Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole.
- 2 Mr Stewart, journal, c.1830, Cole and Gwynn 232-35.
- 3 Stopping for refreshments only, the American frigate sailed for America on 19 Apr. 1830.
- 4 i.e. Katherine's younger sister, Louisa Margaret, afterwards Lady Minto.
- 5 James Harris, letter to Katherine Harris, 2 Dec. 1777, PRO 30/43/2.
- 6 Sir George Murray, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 6 Apr. 1816, Cole and Gwynn 185.
- 7 Lady Anne Barnard, letter to Henry Dundas, 10 July 1797.
- 8 Henry Dundas held this position between 1794 and 1801. He later was to become Viscount Melville (1802) and was to be promoted to First Lord of the Admiralty in 1803 (Krüger and De Kock 3:246-47).
- 9 Lady Anne Barnard, letter to Henry Dundas, 6 May 1796.
- 10 Louisa Harris, letter to Katherine Harris, 10 May 1814, PRO 30/43/5.
- 11 Lady Anne Barnard, letter to Henry Dundas.
- 12 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 12 June 1825, PRO 30/43/33.
- 13 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 26 June 1823, PRO 30/43/122.

- 14 Louisa Harris, letter to Katherine Harris, 6 June 1813, Cole Papers 30/43/5, PRO, Kew.
- 15 Elizabeth Cozens, journal, Tuesday 30 Nov. 1830, Cole Papers 30/43/121, PRO, Kew.
- 16 Elizabeth Cozens, journal, Thursday 17 Mar. 1831, Cole Papers 30/43/121, PRO, Kew.
- 17 Elizabeth Cozens, journal, entries respectively for: 23 April 1830; 1 May 1830, and 17 Nov. 1831, Cole Papers 30/43/121, PRO, Kew.
- 18 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Catherine Harris, 24 Mar. 1820, Cole Papers 30/43/106, PRO, Kew.
- 19 Elizabeth Cozens, journal: 1 Dec. 1829; 24, 29 Nov. 1830; 12 Feb. 1831; 16 Feb., 21 Mar. 1832, Cole Papers 30/43/121, PRO, Kew. In Victorian times menstruation was referred to as "illness" and this fact must temper our assessment of certain of these days spent by Lisinka in bed (Perkin 59).
- 20 Lady Frances, journal, 7 Aug. 1830, Cole Papers 30/43/114, PRO, Kew.
- 21 Lady Frances, journal, 19 Nov.; 7, 8, 9 Dec. 1830, Cole Papers 30/43/114, PRO, Kew.
- 22 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Frances Harris, 28 July 1817, Cole Papers 30/43/21, PRO, Kew.
- 23 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Frances Harris, Cole Papers 30/43/106, PRO, Kew.
- 24 Lady Frances, letter to Miss Cozens, 27 June 1825, Cole Papers 30/43/122, PRO, Kew.
- 25 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Mrs Robinson, 1 May 1830, Cole Papers 30/43/9, PRO, Kew.
- 26 Lady Frances, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 20 Nov. 1824, Cole Papers 30/43/32, PRO, Kew.

CHAPTER THREE

Lisinka

A Citizen's Diary

If we look into the bulk of our species, they are such as are not likely to be remembered a moment after their disappearance. They leave behind them no traces of their existence, but are forgotten as though they had never been. (Addison 52-53)

Introduction

For most of her adult life Lisinka Cozens lived virtually as a member of the Harris family. When the eldest daughter, Lady Frances Harris, married Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole in 1815 it was this new branch of the family that Lisinka favoured. In 1823 Sir Lowry Cole and his family travelled out to Mauritius, where he succeeded Robert Townshend Farquhar as the Governor there. No doubt the parting was a difficult one for Lisinka and a regular correspondence was maintained between England and Mauritius. However, Lisinka would have welcomed the opportunity to travel out to Mauritius in 1825 to be with them. When Sir Lowry took over the Governorship of the Cape colony in 1828, Lisinka accompanied his party, subsequently returning with the family to England only towards the end of 1833.

It is necessary to look closely at the circumstances of the Harris and Cole families in order to place Lisinka's life with them in its proper context. Our chief source for this material is "The Cole Papers".

The Cozenses, the Harrises, and the Coleses.

Of Lisinka Cozens herself there is a paucity of information, although considering that she was born more than two hundred years ago, it is quite understandable that documents concerning her life have been lost. To a certain extent, the fact that Lisinka is lost to history is unfortunate, serving to illustrate just how readily the life of an upper middle-class, single economically dependent woman may go unrecorded; however, in quite another respect the lack of documented information about her in England may be helpful.

Research has brought to light approximately sixty-five women who went by the name of Elizabeth Cozens during the period that Lisinka flourished, no ^{fewer} ~~^~~ than thirty of them unmarried. Many of them also had sisters named Harriet; however, none of them moved in the circles to which Lisinka was admitted and in which she obviously moved with the Harris family and their friends. It is in the earliest of the documents amongst the Cole Papers that we find both the first mention of the name "Cozens" and a clue to the origin of the branch of the family to which Lisinka belonged.

The earliest information we possess concerns Harriet Cozens, Lisinka's elder sister, who was to be found in St Petersburg in 1778:

Wednesday January 24 February 4th¹ 1778

Mr Mrs Zaphary ... Miss Cuzons [sic] dined here - Mr Zaphary told me he had been present when Madame Lapouschin, her husband & Madame Bestucheff received the knout - the first received 50 lashes & a piece of her tongue was cut out & nailed against the wall, her screams were piercing, she was very handsome, her feet fastened to the ground & her body uncovered to the waist & 'tis supposed they were quite innocent. In the evening went to the English Ball.²

The above passage is taken from the unpublished journal of Katherine Gertrude Harris, who accompanied her brother, James, to St Petersburg in October 1777. Her brother's diplomatic charm and, apparently, handsome figure engaged Empress Catherine II's

affection for England to the chagrin of France. For his labours as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His British Majesty's in St Petersburg", James Harris was knighted (1778) and later earned his title, 1st Earl of Malmesbury (1800)(Leslie 25:8-9). Katherine's journal entries illuminate the manner of life in Russia during the last quarter of the eighteenth century - the final years of Catherine the Great's reign. In addition, we deduce from many entries in this journal that both Miss Cozens and Lisinka were living in St Petersburg at that time. It is thus helpful that no information can be found in England relating to Lisinka's birth and early life, because our attention is focused more upon her European connections. A search of Russian diplomatic papers, of which the Public Records Office possesses few, and "pass port registers" of the time has shown that only the most important people were mentioned and that their international movements went mostly unrecorded.

Katherine Harris also noted in her journal many occasions upon which Miss Cozens accompanied her, whether walking to "Princess K-", meeting Count Nicola Roumainzoff, or dining in company with Monsieur Hernandez, the Spanish chargé d'affaire. The Gomms - Mr, Mrs and Miss Gomm³ - very often arrived for breakfast or dined with Sir James and his wife, and regularly brought Miss Cozens and Lisinka with them. It is noteworthy that the Cozens sisters were not living either with James and Harriet Harris or with Katherine Harris at this time, and appear to have spent much of their time with the Gomm family. The Gomms and Cozens were the first two family names mentioned in Katherine's journal on the day of her brother's marriage to Harriet Mary (née Amyand) in 1777:

Wednesday 17 July/28 July

This being my brother's wedding day the Gomms, Cozens, ... dined here.⁴

The link between the Harris family and the Cozens appears to have been forged some years before, however, and it is necessary to turn our attention to the Cozens lineage for a while in order to establish this connection.

It has been written that "the Eighteenth Century was the Age of Scandal" and that many contemporary documents studied concerning certain peoples' lives have "the very passages deleted which would have told us what [we] have had to guess at." (Calder-Marshall 9). The tales told of Lady Elizabeth Foster⁵ and of Mary Cole (Countess of Berkeley)⁶ show evidence of intrigue. From the life of Harriet Wilson⁷ to that of Princess Charlotte of Wales⁸ documents containing important information have been tactfully removed and lost, or blatantly censored, and the Dictionary of National Biography (1889) may not always be as accurate as one would wish it to be.

Lady Frances Cole, whose central role in the preservation of the documents relating to Lisinka's journal is evident, cut physically from family letters many personal references she believed irrelevant, averring that the "looked through", or censored, bundles of letters and papers now extant should be preserved "for Florence who may be amused at reading the account of her early childhood."⁹ It may be that Florence Cole and her children later censored the documents still further. Our view of Lisinka Cozens is therefore partial: only two references to her elder sister, Miss Cozens, are to be found in the *Memoirs* (Cole and Gwynn 116, 165).

To further complicate the matter, the origin of the Cozens family in Russia has been veiled over and, consequently, has been clothed with surmise. Richard Cozens was said to have been shipbuilder to tsar Peter I, "the Great", early in the eighteenth century. Tsar Peter visited England in 1698, choosing to settle near the shipbuilding area at Deptford where he stayed at Sayes Court, owned by the diarist, John Evelyn (1620-1706) (Massie 208). Massie writes that Peter was "always on the lookout for qualified men for service in Russia" and he "finally persuaded about sixty Englishmen to follow him. Among them were Major Leonard van der Stamm, the master shipwright at Deptford" (Massie 213). Richard Cozens might have been one of the "sixty Englishmen"; he might also have been one of the few Dutch shipbuilders Peter employed in St Petersburg (Massie 180), however, an alternative origin has been proposed in the Dictionary of National Biography (Leslie 12:424).

Bearing in mind that tsar Peter preferred to travel incognito and that by his removal to Deptford it was intended that he should escape the inquisitive London crowds, it meant also that he could mix freely amongst the inhabitants. (In Holland he called himself Peter Mikhailov to hide his identity.) At that time the age of consent was twelve and, Tsar Peter I, being known to have been a philanderer (Massie 262; 811); it has been suggested that Alexander Cozens (c.1717-1786) was his natural son, by a Deptford woman who returned with him to St Petersburg (Massie 204; Leslie 12:424). In this case, the surname "Cozens" would then take upon itself the meaning of "cozen - to cheat, or to impersonate", which meaning at that time would also have included the sense of "claiming kindred for advantage" (Burchfield 1:1118). The reference to dubious Deptford origins, however, has been used elsewhere and must be cautiously approached.¹⁰

Notwithstanding the possible Romanov/Cozens connection, we know that Alexander Cozens and his brother were raised in Russia, the latter becoming a General in the Russian Army. It is believed that Lisinka was the great grand-daughter of this General, although very little information concerning either his life or hers may be found (Leslie 12:424-25). This would make Lisinka a contemporary of Catherine and Frances Harris although, as argued in chapter two, she might have been a year or two older.

After visiting Rome in 1746 Alexander Cozens settled in England where he became a fashionable teacher of art and drawing. William Beckford (c.1760-1844), who as a five-year-old child was tutored by the young Mozart, also counted Alexander Cozens as his art teacher. Before he had reached his teens, Beckford had inherited a considerable fortune and by 1782 he was both a dilettante and one of the wealthiest men in Britain (Johnson 321).

Alexander Cozens married Charlotte (née Pine), sister of Robert Edge Pine (1730-1788) the painter, and they had two children. Their son, John Robert (1752-1797?), also showed a talent for drawing and began exhibiting with the Society of Artists in 1767, his watercolours apparently influencing the Romantic painter, Joseph M.W. Turner (1775-1851), in his formative years (Oppé). John Robert Cozens

undertook two lengthy tours of the continent between 1776 and 1783. It was during this time that he developed a close friendship with the Harris family, particularly as Sir James Harris was spending much of his time in Switzerland. On his last tour, in 1782, John Robert was accompanied as far as Naples by the eccentric William Beckford.

Sir James Harris and his wife had two sons, James Edward and Thomas Alfred, and two daughters, Catherine Gertrude and Frances. Whilst their parents were travelling in Europe upon diplomatic missions, the children had to remain in England. The boys were sent off to school whilst the girls remained at Brookwood Park, their father's small country residence in Hampshire, where they were entrusted to the guardianship of Miss Cozens, "a family friend" (Cole and Gwynn 116). We are told that "Miss Cozens's care was supplemented by that of Lord Malmesbury's sisters, Louisa Margaret and Katherine Robinson; and Durnford, their home in Wiltshire, was a great centre for the young people of the family" (Cole and Gwynn 116).

At Brookwood Park and at Durnford there was always a large number of young people, ^{whom} among ^A we must include Lisinka, who would have been a young girl at that time. Lord Malmesbury's younger sister, Louisa Margaret, was married to Gilbert Elliot (later Lord Minto), and their children were brought up together with the four Harris children, in addition to which, Lord Malmesbury's wards, George and William Bowles, and the young French noblewoman, Caroline de Noailles, who had had to flee to England after her mother had been killed in the Revolution, swelled the numbers.¹¹ The Temples, the large family of Henry Temple (Lord Palmerston), also spent much of their time at Durnford.¹²

Sir James Harris travelled widely in Europe during these years. He corresponded regularly with his family and, in particular, with his young daughters. For example, from Switzerland, in November 1788, he wrote to Frances, then five years old:

Miss Cozens will show you where Switzerland is & ask her to show you Lausanne ... Give my love to Catherine & the Miss Cozens.¹³

This letter illustrates that both Miss Cozens and Lisinka were residents of Brookwood Park at this stage. At the house, Catherine Harris celebrated her twelfth birthday on 30 May 1792, on which occasion the elder Miss Cozens presented her with a Common Place Book in which she could write notes, record historical events and copy poems that had interested her. The dedication on the flyleaf is written in Miss Cozens' hand, on Catherine's behalf:

This book is given by my very dear friend, Miss Cozens, on my birthday at Brookwood Park 1792 (on the occasion of my twelfth year).¹⁴

Miss Cozens and her sister, Lisinka, were not mere "friends of the family"; they also played a part in the courtship between Katherine Gertrude Harris (Sir James' eldest sister) and Mr Frederick Robinson (afterwards Lord Goderich), acting as their chaperones.¹⁵ Early in May 1784 an Assembly was held at Mrs Montagu's at which Katherine was heartily congratulated on her intended marriage to Mr Robinson. Monday 6 June was the last recorded occasion upon which the chaperones accompanied the betrothed couple to dinner; the marriage settlement was signed on Friday 10 June.

Italy was an attractive alternative to the cold English winter weather and many important people met and socialized there. In Italy almost every winter were to be found both the Temple and the Harris families. Henry Temple, 2nd Viscount Palmerston (1739-1802), and his second wife, Mary, were great friends with Sir James Harris and his wife. By 1792 James Harris was spending most of his time on the continent for pleasure, his diplomatic career being largely over, although by reputation he was still regarded as "a leading English diplomat of that time" (Cole and Gwynn 5-6). Sir James's wife wrote to a young friend in the autumn of 1792:

All the world is going to Italy next winter and I was on the point of being seduced to return there by Lady Palmerston, who you will know some time or other, as she is my dear friend and one of the pleasantest women in the world.¹⁶

The young friend to whom Lady Harriet (later Lady Malmesbury) wrote in Sicily was a reportedly handsome Irish gentleman whom she addressed as "His Majesty King Cole" (Cole and Gwynn 6). Viscount Cole, who was establishing a firm friendship with the Harris family in Italy, was the elder brother of Galbraith Lowry Cole, who by 1792 had completed his studies, reading the art and theories of war at the University of Stuttgart. Whilst Galbraith Lowry Cole's career was destined to play a major role in the romantic life of the ambassador's younger daughter, his social life was destined to play a central part in the events of Lisinka Cozens' life.

Galbraith Lowry Cole, the second son of Anne and William Cole, later the Earl of Enniskillen, had been born on 1 May 1772 at Florence Court, the family demesne of the Cole family since the eighteenth century, situated about nine miles south-west of Enniskillen in County Fermanagh, Ireland. Educated in Ireland, Galbraith Lowry began his military career as a cornet in the army at the age of fifteen. In 1790 he had entered the University of Stuttgart and, by the time his studies were completed, he had been advanced to the rank of captain. In the meantime, his elder brother, Viscount Cole, had been touring Italy.

The brothers' meeting in Vienna was interrupted by France's declaration of war with England on 1 February 1793. Viscount Cole and Galbraith Lowry returned to Ireland (Cole 2:271). Later that year Galbraith Lowry, aged twenty-one, embarked with the expeditionary forces to the French West Indies, soon afterwards being gazetted as a Major in the 102nd Foot Regiment (Cole 2:271).

In the winter of 1794 Sir James Harris was sent on a special mission to the Court of Brunswick, his brief being to ask for Princess Caroline's hand in marriage to her cousin George, Prince of Wales (1762-1830),¹⁷ and to escort the Princess to England for her wedding (Pearce 26-31; Ayling 387-92; Leslie 202). Ultimately, Caroline's daughter would affect Lisinka's residence at the Lower Lodge, Windsor.

Whilst the ambassador's career was drawing to its close, Galbraith Lowry Cole's was developing. He returned from the army a Lieutenant-Colonel in 1794 and, having elected to enter politics, eventually gained a seat in the Irish Parliament in Dublin,

which position he held from 1797 until 1800 (Cole 2:272). Sir James Harris was created Earl Malmesbury in 1800 and he began the nineteenth century with optimism for his son-in-law's political future.

In the summer of 1805 Galbraith Lowry Cole was invited to accompany his sister, Henrietta, to Wiltshire to stay at Durnford. A romance had developed between Henrietta and Lord Grantham, Mrs Katherine Robinson's nephew. At Durnford Galbraith Lowry met Frances Harris, Lady Malmesbury's daughter who, together with her sister Catherine, happened to be staying there also.

An affection must have developed quickly between Frances and Galbraith Lowry. Towards the end of June, Frances Harris, then twenty-two years old, wrote a letter to Henrietta Cole which suggests that not one but two romantic attachments were already far advanced:

I trust both yourself and Lord Grantham will do me the justice to believe the connection you are about to form will not contribute to lessen either of you in my esteem. I accept with gratitude and pleasure the appellation of sister and feel sure a longer and more intimate acquaintance will confirm the predilection we felt for each other, and which though begun by chance seemed to prophecy that we should some time or other be more nearly connected. Sincerely my dear Lady Henrietta every happiness.¹⁸

Not only were the Cozens sisters observers of the Harris's and Robinson's family life at Durnford, but they were also scrutinized in their turn. Frequent mention is made of Miss Harriet Cozens in correspondence, conducted in French, between Mrs Katherine Robinson and Miss Jane Gomm, governess in King George III's household.¹⁹ Miss Gomm, then staying at the Lower Lodge, Windsor, had addressed a letter to "Ma chere Madame Robinson" in the summer of 1803:

I saw the little one while she was in Windsor and she cannot be nicer than she seems - and I sincerely hope if Miss Cozens ever has anything to do with her that she will find her as I saw her.²⁰

At that time King George III was to be found mostly at Windsor and, it is certain that "the little one", referred to by Miss Gomm, was none other than Princess Charlôtte, daughter of Caroline of Brunswick and the Prince of Wales (Pearce). The Princess was seven years old and not yet troubled by the ranks of governesses and sub-governesses which she would later encounter, one of whom, it would appear from Miss Gomm's letter, was expected to be Miss Cozens. Miss Gomm, together with her friend, Miss M.C. Goldsworthy, had tutored King George III's six daughters and, it is not surprising that she would have expected to have had some contact with Princess Charlotte. Indirectly, however, the Princess's life was to change both Miss Gomm's life and the lives of the Cozens sisters altogether.

In 1805, when preparations were being made for the education of the Princess, the Prince of Wales suggested that his daughter be removed from her mother's influence and placed in the care of her grandfather, George III, at Windsor (Ayling 433). The King readily concurred and gave orders for the Lower Lodge to be vacated in preparation for her reception there. By 1 March 1805, which date happened to be Lisinka's birthday, King George sent word to the Prince that the apartments would be ready within two weeks. It was about the same time that the Prince of Wales had second thoughts about the wisdom of such a move, particularly as his father had been afflicted with symptoms of the insanity which was shortly to take a stronger hold of him again. The Misses Gomm, Goldsworthy, and Cozens were most affected by these preparations at Windsor and it is likely that they had to vacate the Lower Lodge while it was being redecorated.

It might have been the return of George III's malady which brought about the distress to the Cozens sisters. Lord Malmesbury, himself, had recorded the change in the King's behaviour: "He dismissed and turned away, and made capricious changes everywhere, from the Lord Chamberlain to the grooms and footmen" (qtd. in Ayling 431).

Curiously enough, John Robert Cozens had become deranged in 1794 and remained insane until his death. Although he was cared for by Dr Munro and Lord

Beaumont, there appears to be doubt about his year of death, said to have occurred sometime between 1796 and 1799 and, perhaps, even later (Leslie 12:425). His works, which had been admired by Constable and Turner, included some views of Windsor Park, which may suggest that he was favoured at Windsor itself. King George III is reported to have been a conscientious art patron, and had been instrumental in the founding of the Royal Academy in 1768 (Ayling 193). The patronage of Lord Beaumont and King George, which would have provided John Robert and his close relatives with a living, might have ended with his death, which possibly occurred as late as 1805.

Nevertheless, there is evidence that some grave misfortune befell the two Cozens sisters in the autumn of 1805. The Malmesburys, who had opened their home to a noble refugee before, seem to have offered accommodation not only to the Cozens sisters but also to Miss Gomm. From Park Place, the Earl of Malmesbury's home at Henley, Miss Gomm reported the circumstances to Mrs Robinson on 5 September:

Miss Cozens and Lizinka left [Windsor] this morning - Miss Cozens has prudently hidden from Lizinka that they would leave for a long time.²¹

All extant correspondence between Lisinka and Lady Malmesbury was signed "Your ever affectionate & grateful Elizabeth Cozens" after this event.²² A letter, written at the time, from Miss Gomm to Mrs Robinson, mentions that she would not be returning Lisinka's cabinet to Windsor.²³ An undated note hints at the peculiar nature of the distressing circumstances:

Here is my dear Mrs Robinson the letter from Miss Cozens which I would like you to hand to her ... I will write to Miss Cozens as I write to you - and I beg of her to only talk about it at home. I think it would be impossible that she would submit to these arrangements and it will undoubtedly be her leaving the place - I will tell you what happened further in the curious event as soon as I can - in the meantime I think just like you that all has ended for Miss Cozens, unless there are unexpected changes.²⁴

Whether Miss Gomm ever reported this "curious event" in greater detail we shall not know. Certainly some strange occurrence brought about a change in the fortunes of the Cozens sisters, the full import of which was shielded from Lisinka. It must suffice that the misfortunes of 1805 are not mentioned again.

Afterwards, Miss Cozens and her sister, Lisinka, are mentioned frequently in correspondence between Lord Malmesbury and his wife, and with his daughter, Frances. The name of Miss Cozens is usually connected with the children: "Love also to Miss Cozens - not forgetting all the children".²⁵

There existed a camaraderie between these ladies who had been present in St. Petersburg during the last years of Catherine the Great's reign. Miss Gomm wrote to Lady Robinson some years after their return to England ^{and from this} we perceive how closely the names of Gomm and Cozens are connected with Russia:

[Cousin Nicolaz]²⁶ asked me about [Miss Cozens's] latest news - He is at present at a school in Richmond where he is trying to learn English, and his free days he spends with his friend Count Worentzow²⁷ - Miss Cozens will be charmed to learn that he is very busy because I have noticed that she is as interested in him as me - and you my dear Mrs Robinson, you will understand the interest we take in what concerns him.²⁸

A few months after his visit to Wiltshire in 1805, Galbraith Lowry Cole went abroad on active service to Malta with the 27th Inniskilling Fusiliers. Two weeks after the Battle of Trafalgar, Galbraith Cole wrote to congratulate his youngest sister on her betrothal to Lord Grantham:

Most cordially and from my heart do I congratulate you on the choice you have made, as from the little I know of him, I am sure he will make you happy, and with the most I know of you, I am equally sure you will make him so.²⁹

Galbraith Lowry's attention was confined mostly to military matters. He was soon off to Sicily where he spent two years as Major-General with the Expeditionary

Force, doing relatively little. He sounded as resigned about his inactivity as he did about his relationship with Frances Harris when he wrote to his sister towards the end of 1808: "God knows when this war will end and until it does I have no idea of matrimony. Time will tell".³⁰

Although he was wounded twice in battle during the Peninsular War, promoted to the rank of General and subsequently, in March 1813, awarded a K.C.B., being congratulated personally by the Duke of Wellington in whose army he had fought, Sir Lowry Cole's thoughts were tending towards a profitable civil career rather than the probable offer of a peerage, which he considered too commonly bestowed (Cole and Gwynn 202).

At this stage, he considered the Cape Colony where another Irishman, Sir John Francis Cradock (1762-1839), had become the first military governor in 1811 (Kock and Krüger 2:148-49). Sir Lowry Cole wrote to Lady Grantham:

If there was a peace, I should like to succeed Cradock at the Cape for a few years, as I am told one may live 'en Prince' and save a good deal of cash. The only thing is to live among you creditable.³¹

Sir Lowry Cole returned to Florence Court in Ireland towards the end of 1814 where he was given a rousing reception by his kinsmen. Notwithstanding his financial uncertainty, which appears to have troubled him all his life, he was certain of what he wanted next to accomplish:

I am convinced Nature never intended me for a public character and the more I see of a quiet life the more I am desirous of settling down, or rather of having the means of doing so.³²

Lisinka had not retired from the Harris family altogether during this time. In the Spring of 1814 she travelled with her sister to the Manor House to stay with Louisa Harris (Lady Minto). In a letter that she wrote the following day Louisa gives us a rare glimpse of the two women:

The Cozens's arrived here exactly at six yesterday evening both in high health and spirits - they took coffee and toast in preference to a meal of

meat, and had an early supper of minced veal and eggs. In the interval we took a walk and they were all admiration at the gay appearance of the flower garden, which certainly exhibits a great profusion and variety of early Spring flowers.³³

Lisinka and her sister spent the following four weeks with Louisa, during which time they maintained their correspondence with zeal. Such assiduity aroused comment in a letter between Louisa Harris and Lady Robinson:

Miss Cozens I know is preparing a number [of letters] which she wishes to get to London gratis; she has I think a most numerous correspondence as she has every day one or more letters - Lisha also & as most of them are unfranked her bill of portage runs high - that you will say is no concern of mine.³⁴

At the end of their stay the Cozens sisters returned to their lodgings into which they had moved at the end of 1812. Although Louisa had enjoyed their company she did not seem to rue their departure altogether:

The Cozens's left us yesterday at half past eight. We were all very serious at parting - Miss Cozens would not look at me, Lizinka turned pale, and I remained silent. It was impossible to part without feeling regret after having spent a comfortable four weeks together, - but as soon as they were gone I resumed all my old solitary habits & was so engaged by sundry arrangements that I was hardly ready at half past three for my dinner.³⁵

Almost a year later Miss Cozens was amongst the first of the Harris's close family friends to learn of the engagement of Frances Harris to Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole. Frances, herself, wrote to her from Richmond House:

It will not, I daresay, be a matter of surprise to you to hear that Sir Lowry Cole has proposed to me and perhaps as little so that I have accepted him, for Cath has, I believe, kept you au fait ... The thing was only settled this morning.³⁶

Captain William Bowles, Lord Malmesbury's ward and a close friend of the family's, who had fought alongside Sir Lowry Cole in Salamanca, knew that military duty was dictated by the state of political affairs at that time; marriage had to take up a secondary position. He congratulated Frances' aunt, at the same time apologizing for "the inconvenience we [military men] sometimes occasion":

And there being, as we long ago agreed, no such thing as perfect happiness, let us hope the choice Lady Frances has made will produce for her as large a proportion as can be reasonably expected. We are all now on the tiptoe of expectation as to the events which the next fortnight will produce. Important they must be beyond all former precedent, but I am very sanguine in my expectations of beating Buonaparte again for the third time.³⁷

Lady Pembroke, writing to Mrs Robinson on the subject of Napoleon's return to France, stated how surprised she was "that no care was taken to watch the movements of that man after placing him on that island".³⁸ This new development meant that Sir Lowry Cole probably would be called to his regiment. Captain William Bowles had explained the priorities of a military career to Frances' aunt, Louisa, early in June 1815 when he had learned of their engagement:

There are of course some drawbacks and some circumstances to regret, but they are only such as are incidental to all connections formed with military men, and your friend Buonaparte has, luckily for us, made us such necessary (I do not say valuable) members of society that you will be inclined to make due allowance for the inconvenience we sometimes occasion.³⁹

Frances' cousin, Anne Elliot, aware that Frances had known Sir Lowry Cole for ten years already, expressed her satisfaction that the match should be "an old acquaintance". She was appreciative also of the fact that Sir Lowry could be called to his Regiment at any moment:

My prayer is that you may be his wife before you part; your situation otherwise will be a most unpleasant one. Anxiety and uneasiness you must have, and so long as a woman is not married she is not permitted to speak openly of her feelings.⁴⁰

These beliefs concerning unmarried women's feelings must have affected Frances, as they would have silenced Lisinka during her life with the Coles in Africa later on. Since the time that Frances had met Sir Lowry, in 1805 at Durnford, he had been wounded twice in battle, the second time most severely. To remain silent on those occasions, as was expected, must have been difficult for her. Married women, however, steered an even more precarious path. Between speaking their feminine feelings as wives on the one hand, and encouraging their husbands to be masculine and independent, while remaining silent, on the other hand, newly-married women had to make great adjustments, as Frances was soon to discover.

Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole and Frances Harris were married on Sunday 15 June 1815 in London. Having organised leave from the army, Sir Lowry was absent from one of history's great battles, fought only three days later.

Sir Thomas Picton, who hurried across the Channel to assume command of Sir Lowry Cole's Regiment, was killed in the action at Waterloo. Miss Maud Lowry Cole, grand-daughter of Sir Lowry Cole, later wrote that: "Lady Frances Cole wept bitterly when the news of the victory came in, lest she should have caused disappointment to her soldier" (Cole and Gwynn 144). As a married woman, Lady Frances would have felt free to communicate her anxieties to her husband during the short time that they spent together.

Exactly one week after the wedding, Louisa Harris wrote to her elder sister, Katherine: "I find Sir Lowry departs Monday - God preserve him! - I pity poor Fanny."⁴¹ Fourteen days after his marriage, Sir Lowry Cole wrote to his wife from Ramsgate, tackling the subject upon which many of their conversations must have focused - the Battle of Waterloo:

However I may regret - for I cannot help feeling a sort of regret at not having witnessed the glorious result of Waterloo - I feel at the same time that it is by no means improbable that I might not have survived that day! This thought consoles me as I should be sorry now to quit this world.⁴²

That same afternoon Sir Lowry Cole, together with his brother-in-law, Lord Grantham, departed for Flanders. Lady Frances must have believed that her marriage was already affecting her husband's military career adversely. Evidently she expressed her thoughts on the matter in a letter to her husband to which Sir Lowry responded early in August from Neuilly, trying to allay her fears and, I suspect, trying to adjust to his new role at the same time:

I was made more happy yesterday evening ... by receiving your letter of the 30th, notwithstanding the very long lecture it contains ... Whatever are my feelings in not having been present at Waterloo, I have none as to what people may say of my absence. I am confident no person could suppose I wished to avoid it. On the contrary, all who know me at all, I am equally sure, give me credit for the very reverse. The Duke, I know, does me full justice on that score! Nor have I heard, my love, or do I believe, that anyone attributes any undue influence on your part or supposes that I made any unnecessary delay in joining the Army afterwards. You need not therefore feel uncomfortable in that respect.⁴³

That same morning, the Duke of Wellington had asked Sir Lowry Cole whether his bride, Lady Frances, "intended joining" him in France.⁴⁴ So it came to be, exactly seven weeks after their marriage, that Lady Frances Cole left London to join her husband in Paris.⁴⁵

If it was intended to be a belated honeymoon it was not ideal: firstly, Lady Malmesbury decided to follow the newlyweds on a whim and accompanied Lady Frances to Paris; secondly, Sir Lowry Cole's sister and brother-in-law, Lord and Lady Grantham, arrived in Paris to stay near them all; and thirdly, Lady Frances Cole's

mother, after a few weeks, invited their Aunt Robinson to join them (Cole and Gwynn 156; 164-65).

During this period Lady Frances Cole kept up her correspondence with her friend, Miss Cozens, describing her impressions of occupied Paris to her:

You may easily conceive that, being here for the express purpose of seeing everything, we lead a most hurried life, and though it is of itself productive of great amusement I own I find it fatiguing ... I can, however, tell you a little of the life we lead, one which is in every respect so new to me that I have not yet been able to get at all used to it, and continually feel I must awake from it as from a dream! But I should be ungrateful if I did not do justice to Lowry's unceasing kindness and affection, and as I know your anxiety for my happiness, my dearest Co., I know it will give you pleasure to hear this.⁴⁶

This was hardly the "quiet life" to which Sir Lowry had expressed his desire to retire. The peace that followed Waterloo made it possible for the armies to be moved out of Paris and so the pleasant, comfortable, partying life in Paris was soon over. Sir Lowry Cole was put in command of the British army of occupation on the French northern frontier, where he was stationed at Cambrai between January 1816 and November 1818.

Lord Malmesbury, whose experience of public life prevented him from understanding fully Sir Lowry's interest in a quiet life, nevertheless took a great interest in his son-in-law's career and was quite prepared to use his considerable influence to secure his future, although he clearly felt ambivalent about Sir Lowry Cole's new command:

I do not know whether to be glad or sorry that you are likely to inhabit Cambrai. There is much more to be said in both ways. Cambrai is much more in the country and I believe cheaper than Paris. It is also 60 or 70 miles nearer Calais. The environs are pleasant and the town itself very good, larger, I should think, than Winchester and much pleasanter.⁴⁷

In the meantime, Lady Frances ^{fell} pregnant. At Lord Malmesbury's request she returned to London for her confinement and on 4 June 1816 Florence Cole was born, the Malmesbury's first granddaughter (Cole and Gwynn 185). Both the move to Cambrai and the arrival of their first child had inaugurated changes. When Catherine Harris visited her sister at Cambrai about five months later, she found that the activity of gardening had been substituted for the social life of Paris. If Lord Malmesbury had entertained any doubts about their removal there, Catherine had removed them upon her return to England:

Catherine seems much pleased with Cambrai and gives me a most comfortable account of you and Lowry. I daresay the garden you are laying out will live on long in the annals of Cambrai.⁴⁸

Lord Malmesbury's daughters had been raised at Park Place, Henley - a vast estate with a forest and rolling gardens down to the River Thames - and, no doubt, Lady Frances Cole's garden at Cambrai appeared to be an acceptable substitute both for Henley and for the social life of Paris. It was from another garden that Frances was to derive much pleasure in Mauritius later on. For Sir Lowry Cole, who had expressed his distaste for public life, this was a pleasant interlude.

In 1817 Lady Frances returned to London for her second confinement. This time Lisinka travelled to Hill Street, London, to visit her and, when Lisinka departed at the end of July, Lord Malmesbury missed her pleasant and helpful company. "Lisinka left us on Wednesday," he wrote, "She is a very excellent girl."⁴⁹ Exactly a month afterwards, on 24 August, Arthur Lowry Cole was born. Lady Frances Cole was then thirty-three years old.

Their son was baptised on 14 January 1818 at Mont St. Martin. Two days later Lady Frances described the special occasion to her friend and confidante, Miss Cozens:

We came here on Wednesday and in the evening Arthur became a compleat [sic] Christian. The frock and cap were both made to fit him very well. Being of a more respectable age, and I must be fain to own a prettier child than Florence ever was, he became them both very much

and looked very nice ... Thus the great ceremony is over and I am glad of it.⁵⁰

At the end of May Lady Malmesbury visited the Coles at Cambrai and stayed for a very agreeable two months. Lady Frances was by then expecting another child although, on this occasion, the confinement was to be at Cambrai. Louisa Catherine Cole was born on 16 August 1818.⁵¹

About this time Sir Lowry was experiencing misgivings about his future. He knew that his command of the troops at Cambrai would end in November, but there seemed no prospect of adequate recompense for his active service and distinguished military career of more than twenty years. After Waterloo he had been offered the governorship of Corfu by Lord Bathurst; the governorship of Ceylon had fallen vacant in 1816 and had been offered to him: he had refused both offers. The family returned to England where Louisa Catherine Cole celebrated her first birthday at Heron Court.⁵² Sir Lowry Cole and his family then returned to Ireland. A son, William Willoughby Thomas Cole, was born in southern Ireland on 18 November 1819.⁵³ There were now four children for whose futures provision had to be made.

Early in 1820 Lisinka Cozens visited the Hill Street residence of Lord Malmesbury, where she remained for a few weeks. He seems to have been especially fond of her, yet during her stay he became most concerned about her health: "Lisinka left us a day or two ago," he told Frances, "she was not quite well part of the time she stayed with us. She is now better, but she certainly has not a stout constitution."⁵⁴ However, it was Lord Malmesbury's health that was in decline and, when he died on 21 November 1820, relatively soon after Sir Lowry Cole and his family had returned from France, Sir Lowry lost not only a kind father-in-law but also his ablest, most influential promoter.

The years between 1818 and 1822 Sir Lowry Cole spent in Westminster Parliament as the representative of County Fermanagh. In 1822 he was offered the governorship of Mauritius. The annual salary seemed attractive and, as he wrote to his

brother, the Earl of Enniskillen: "It is nothing but a sense of duty towards my children that has inclined me to accept it".⁵⁵

Lady Frances Cole's elder sister, Catherine, had married John Bell in June 1821. He had distinguished himself as an officer in the Peninsular War and, within a short time of his marriage, was appointed deputy quartermaster-general of the British forces at the Cape of Good Hope (Krüger and De Kock 1:65).

For Lisinka, after Lord Malmesbury's death, it must have seemed as if the family was dispersing - that her life as a "family friend" was over. Sir Lowry and Lady Frances Cole were about to set sail for Mauritius; John and Catherine Bell were at the Cape of Good Hope;⁵⁶ and her older sister had settled near Henley, in Reading, where she was taking care of an invalid.⁵⁷ With no immediate prospects for marriage, and a clear sense of identification with the two Harris daughters with whom she had been raised, Lisinka might not have foreseen that her destiny waited in the southern hemisphere where, before long, she would spend eight years of her life.

Notes

- 1 Old Style calendar: Katherine usually kept a record of both dates in her journal.
- 2 Katherine Gertrude Harris, journal 1777-1779, p.16, PRO 30/43/11.
- 3 Katherine Gertrude Harris, journal, 4, 6 Aug. 1777, pp. 51-59, PRO 30/43/11.
- 4 James Harris married Harriet Mary (née Amyand) in St Petersburg on 28 July 1777. Katherine, his sister, had travelled with them from Salisbury. The journey of 28 days duration involved 2051 hours of travelling. Katherine Harris, journal, PRO 30/43/10/1; 10/2; 11, p.90. Leslie 25:8-9.
- 5 refer Arthur Calder-Marshall and Maxwell 1:84, 254. Elizabeth Foster has written "a true and informal account" of the scandal surrounding her ancestor.
- 6 refer Costley-White.
- 7 refer Wilson.
- 8 refer Ayling, Leslie, Pearce, Petrie, and Willson.
- 9 Lady Frances Cole, Highfield Park, 11 Sept. 1837, PRO 30/43/32.

- 10 see Pearce, who records "the strange story of 'Willikin.' The child's real name was William Austin, and he was said to be the son of a Deptford dockyard labourer" (118). The boy was raised at Montague House and, apparently, was always with Princess Caroline.
- 11 Lady Malmesbury records in her journal that she "very nearly adopted her" (Cole and Gwynn 117).
- 12 Lord Palmerston had a daughter by his first wife, Frances (née Poole), and a "large family" by his second wife, Mary (née Mee). Their eldest son was Henry John Temple, 3rd Viscount Palmerston (1784-1865), the statesman (Leslie 16-33).
- 13 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Lady Frances Harris, 7 Nov. 1788, PRO 30/43/106.
- 14 Miss Catherine Harris, Common Place Book, 1792, PRO 30/43/43.
- 15 Katherine Gertrude Harris, journal, 7 Apr. 1784, PRO 30/43/21.
- 16 Lady Malmesbury, letter to Viscount Cole, 10 Aug. 1792, (Cole and Gwynn 10).
- 17 i.e. afterwards George IV.
- 18 Lady Frances Harris, letter to Henrietta Cole, 28 June 1805 (Cole and Gwynn 37).
- 19 Miss Gomm, letters to Katherine Gertrude Harris, 1790-1806, PRO 30/43/3.
- 20 Miss Gomm, letter to Katherine Gertrude Harris [French], 13 July 1803, PRO 30/43/3.
- 21 Miss Gomm, letter to Katherine Gertrude Harris [French], 5 Sept. 1805, PRO 30/43/3.
- 22 Elizabeth Cozens, letters to Lady Malmesbury, PRO 30/43/33; 30/43/9.
- 23 Miss Gomm, letter to Mrs Robinson, undated, PRO 30/43/3.
- 24 Miss Gomm, letter to Katherine Gertrude Harris [French], n.d. 1805, PRO 30/43/3.
- 25 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Mrs Robinson, 9 Oct. 1804, PRO 30/43/106.
- 26 i.e. Miss Gomm's cousin. She had also brought up her brother's three children after their parents' deaths. One son afterwards became Governor of Mauritius in 1842 (Leslie 22:101-103).
- 27 Count Michel Worenzow, then about twenty-three, was later described by Thomas Creevey as "one of the most captivating persons I have ever seen ... there is a polish and a simplicity at the same time in his manner that surpasses anything I have ever seen. He seems all work - all kindness - all good breeding - without a particle of pride, ostentation, or affectation" (Maxwell 284-85). After Waterloo he commanded the Russian army of occupation.
- 28 Miss Gomm, letter to Lady Robinson [French], PRO 30/43/3.
- 29 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Henrietta Cole, 3 Nov. 1805 (Cole and Gwynn 40-41).
- 30 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Henrietta Cole, 7 Nov. 1808 (Cole and Gwynn 51-52).
- 31 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lady Grantham, 4 Sept. 1813, (Cole and Gwynn 99-100).
- 32 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lady Grantham, 22 Oct. 1814, (Cole and Gwynn 109-10).
- 33 Louisa Harris, letter to Lady Robinson, 12 Apr. 1814, PRO 30/43/5.

- 34 Louisa Harris, letter to Lady Robinson, 28 Apr. 1814, PRO 30/43/5.
- 35 Louisa Harris, letter to Lady Robinson, 10 May 1814, PRO 30/43/5.
- 36 Lady Frances Harris, letter to Miss Cozens, 27 May 1815, (Cole and Gwynn 138-39).
- 37 Captain William Bowles, letter to Louisa Harris, 2 June 1815, (Cole and Gwynn 141-42).
- 38 Lady Elizabeth Pembroke, letter to Mrs Robinson, 27 Mar. 1815, (Cole and Gwynn 132).
- 39 Captain William Bowles, letter to Louisa Harris, 2 June 1815, (Cole and Gwynn 141-42).
- 40 Anne Elliot, letter to Francis Harris, June 1815, (Cole and Gwynn 140-41).
- 41 Louisa Harris, letter to Lady Robinson, 22 June 1815, PRO 30/43/5.
- 42 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 29 June 1815, (Cole and Gwynn 145-46).
- 43 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lady Frances Cole, early Aug. 1815, (Cole and Gwynn 150-52).
- 44 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lady Frances Cole, early Aug. 1815 (Cole and Gwynn 150-52).
- 45 Lady Frances Cole, journal, 3 Aug. 1815 (Cole and Gwynn 156).
- 46 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, c.19 Aug.1815 (Cole and Gwynn 174-75).
- 47 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 15 Dec. 1815 (Cole and Gwynn 183).
- 48 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Lady Frances Cole, Mar. 1816 (Cole and Gwynn 184).
- 49 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 28 July 1817, PRO 30/43/106.
- 50 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 16 Jan. 1818 (Cole and Gwynn 189).
- 51 Louisa Catherine Cole, birth certificate, PRO 30/43/83.
- 52 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 16 Aug. 1819, PRO 30/43/106.
- 53 William Willoughby Thomas Cole, birth certificate, PRO 30/43/83.
- 54 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 24 Mar. 1820, PRO 30/43/106.
- 55 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Enniskillen, 8 July 1822, PRO 30/43/84/2.
- 56 The Bells arrived in Simon's Bay on 22 June 1822, their voyage having taken twelve weeks, PRO 30/43/38.
- 57 i.e. Harriet Ryder. Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 28 Aug. 1824, PRO 30/43/32; Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 2 Jan. 1825, PRO 30/43/122.

CHAPTER FOUR

Mauritius

"[Mauritius] is gifted with every blessing and beauty that nature's most lavish hand could bestow" - Captain Owen.¹

Introduction

Situated about five hundred miles west of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean, Mauritius was captured and occupied as a crown colony by the British in 1810, although the French islanders were assured freedom of their existing laws, religion and traditions. For any British governor, of which Sir Robert Farquhar (1776-1853) was the first, the result of this decision meant that the administration had to follow two courses of action: satisfy the British Colonial Office that their requirements were being met, on the one side; and satisfy the local French civil government and Roman Catholic Church that their interests were being taken into account, on the other side. It was a situation best described as ripe for "administrative confusion", the more so because, with Sir Lowry Cole's governorship of Mauritius, the functions of civil and military officials were combined in his person (Hunt 30).

Lady Catherine Bell, who sent a letter from Cape Town to welcome Sir Lowry Cole to Mauritius, warned him that "he would find little to please and much to torment him among those he governed" (Cole and Gwynn 215). This proved to be accurate.

The majority of the island population was French-speaking and, considering that France had ceded Mauritius to Britain at the Treaty of Paris in 1814, a certain degree of enmity must ^{still} have existed between the inhabitants and their new British Governor. To compound the problems which Sir Lowry inherited, the corruption and overspending

of the previous colonial administration needed to be investigated and halted. A number of sinecures had been established which Sir Lowry stopped. In spite of the unpopularity which must have attended the reforms instituted more or less immediately, Sir Lowry Cole made a positive impression upon some of the islanders. As one "professional gentleman" reported:

We have had great changes and reductions since the arrival of Sir Lowry Cole. He is a most active man and to all appearances a most upright and just one. He is very popular. He has cut off all sinecures and seems determined to be guided by his own observation of characters in the distribution of his favours. He is too open-hearted and honest an Irishman to listen to intriguers and is always too busily employed to leave himself time to do so.²

Of far greater import than sinecures was the slave trade which, after 1815, the British government was trying to suppress. Sir Lowry Cole's predecessor, Sir Robert Farquhar, has been described by Burrows as "a central figure in the campaign against slavery" (126). Contrasted with Farquhar, Sir Lowry was "a Peninsular War veteran in the conventional mould, to whom the French remained the enemy rather than the slave traders" (Burrows 138). Sir Lowry's second despatch to the Colonial Office's under-secretary, Robert Wilmot, suggests this:

Sir Robert Barclay, upwards of seventy years of age, is to be assisted by Mr Laing, or the Revenue Office will be entirely run by Frenchman.³

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the slave trade to Mauritius had increased because of the rise in the number of sugar plantations there. There would certainly be a conflict of interests when the British authorities abolished this trade, a large proportion of which was conducted from East Africa.

Fortunately for Sir Lowry Cole, matters remained relatively quiet during the period that he was Governor of Mauritius. No major policy decisions were taken which could have disturbed the status quo and he was able to pursue the "quiet life" which he

had desired, although it remains uncertain whether he managed to save as much as he had hoped to do from his annual salary of £10 000.⁴

We must turn to Lady Frances Cole and her experiences of these times in order to understand the motivation behind Lisinka's undertaking of the long journey to Mauritius two years later, in 1825.

The Outward Voyages

The Coles, their five children - their fifth child, James Henry Cole, had been born on 15 Dec. 1821⁵ - and a large retinue sailed from Portsmouth for Mauritius on 27 March 1823 on board the Charles Grant, a merchantman.⁶ Conscious of the great distance and anxious to maintain her links with England, Lady Frances Cole began to write her first letters early in the outward voyage. With the Cozens sisters, she addressed her correspondence alternately to Miss Cozens and Lisinka, although only the former's have been preserved and so our perception of Lisinka is, once more, from an oblique, though valuable, perspective:

My dearest Cos. Our Captain tells me that we are likely tomorrow to be off Madeira & that thereabouts it is most probable we may meet with some opportunity of consigning a letter to England & I know too well the value of early intelligence not to hold myself prepared with a letter for you. I do so with more than usual pleasure because I have the most satisfactory accounts to give you of our whole party thus far ... God Bless you my dearest Cos. my most affectionate love to Lisha - I hear we are likely to fall in with homeward bound vessels as we approach the Line. I will prepare a letter for her to be ready by the next opportunity - my heart sinks when I think how long it must be before I can hear from England or of any of my dear friends - my waking & sleeping dreams

always carry me amongst you & I trust when I do hear, it will be that you are all well.⁷

The Coles' long journey out to Mauritius, cramped together as they were on board the little ship, presented its own educational problems. Their younger children were restless: Arthur was five years old; Louisa, four; William, three; and James sixteen months old and "the most troublesome." Lady Frances Cole wrote to Miss Cozens, the person who had taken such an interest in her own early years:

I must tell you I have contrived to do lessons whenever it was possible and find the good effects of this hour or two of occupation, tho' it is somewhat of an exertion to both the children and myself - I cannot accustom my head quite sufficiently to the motion yet to be able to employ myself with much satisfaction, but this too will come I hope.⁸

Lady Frances Cole knew that both Miss Cozens and Lisinka took an interest in the education of her children; moreover, Frances was all the more anxious to fulfil her perceived duty to her children since their home was, for the present, a cabin on board the Charles Grant. Hannah More had already prescribed in her writing the woman's duty in the education of her children:

The great object to which you who are, or may be mothers, are more specially called, is the education of your children. If we are responsible for the use of influence in the case of those over whom we have no definite right; in the case of our children we are responsible for the exercise of acknowledged power: a power wide in its extent, indefinite in its effects, and inestimable in its importance. On you, depend in no small degree the principles of the whole rising generation.(qtd in Poovey 29)

Rousseau had argued that women were to be addressed upon subjects of education for three reasons: firstly, that they had the time to pay closer attention to it; secondly, that they had the greater influence upon it and, thirdly, that they had a greater interest in its success (Rousseau 37-39). Faced with the prospect of being away from her homeland

for an indefinite period, and, perhaps, never seeing her mother again, it must have been a daunting prospect that Frances Cole faced in 1823 when the family sailed for Mauritius.

On board, however, the ship's complement of passengers appeared to have maintained a good relationship with each other. "I never saw a more good humoured accommodating sett [sic] of people less disposed to make difficulties," Frances told her mother, adding "I do not think there has been even an argument since we came on board & everyone seems satisfied with his lot".⁹ The Coles' children made many friends on board and, as Frances told her mother:

My daughters have both showed a medical taste - Florence having attached herself to our Doctor Dyce, & Louisa to the Ship Doctor, Strange by name. I must say Pop has displayed the better taste, for Doctor Dyce is a very gentlemanlike pleasing man & we are very fortunate in getting him.¹⁰

Certain of their friends and fellow passengers on board the Charles Grant, introduced at this stage, reappear and are mentioned regularly in Lisinka's journal later. Dr Dyce, the protégé of Sir James McGregor, was highly regarded by Sir Lowry "whatever faults he has (and who is without them?) will wear away with Youth I hope".¹¹ Dr Dyce was promoted in 1825 and, later, accompanied the Coles to the Cape of Good Hope.

Also on board was the Wade family. The Welshman, Colonel Thomas Francis Wade, had joined Sir Lowry's staff of the 4th Division in 1810 and, after Waterloo in 1815, had become friendly with the Malmesburys', upon whom he made a fine impression; now he accompanied Sir Lowry as his military secretary and would travel with him to the Cape in 1828. Colonel Wade's Irish wife, Anne (née Smythe), and three children travelled with him, although their youngest daughter had to be left behind in England.¹²

Baron Düring, Sir Lowry's aide-de-camp, who had last seen Lady Frances Cole at Cambrai, suffered badly from sea-sickness although their outward voyage was not without its greater problems: the ship was becalmed for three days at the equator,

rounded the Cape in stormy seas, and met contrary winds off Madagascar which blew them southwards again. Lady Frances reported these events without complaint to Miss Cozens:

These [winds] lasted near a fortnight and ended by a severe thunderstorm which struck our mast, most providentially without doing any damage to the ship, but sweeping along the deck, killed one poor sailor on the spot & knocked down two of the officers one of which was the Chief Mate.¹³

In a letter to his brother, on the other hand, Sir Lowry Cole dismissed their outward voyage perfunctorily with one sentence: "You will be glad to hear of our safe arrival here after a passage of 77 days or eleven weeks - all well in health."¹⁴ Lady Frances not only had expected the outward passage to be longer, but she had also anticipated better accommodation for the Governor and his family once they had arrived at Mauritius. In her opinion Government house was badly positioned, Reduit was uninhabitable, and Monplaisir was too small. She explained this situation to Miss Cozens in one of her first letters written from the Island:

We anchored in this harbour on the 12th of this month - exactly eleven weeks from the day we left St. Helens! - This is reckoned a very short passage & was so certainly in my estimation since you know I had calculated upon full four months! ... This home is spacious & not inconvenient - but it is ill-situated & can never be a permanent residence. I have already been to see Reduit & Monplaisir - the former is really a most beautiful place, but the home in a state of dilapidation & dirt that defied description, but which determined me to give up the idea I had first formed of going there immediately, and to wait here till Gen. Darling who now occupies Monplaisir went away which he is likely to do the middle of next month. This place he has made comfortable in all ways, but it is exceedingly small. I will but barely hold out here however we shall go as soon as we can & the general plan recommended to us, is

to pass this the winter season there, and the summer at Reduit - This Town is always 8 or 9 degrees hotter than the country therefore will never be much frequented by me or the children.¹⁵

Sir Lowry immediately set about the process of familiarizing himself with Mauritius. Lady Frances wanted to explore the island also, but she was expecting another child and it was felt expedient that she did not accompany her husband who, it appears, was cordially received:

[Sir Lowry Cole] is lately returned from making a Tour of the Island with which he is much delighted ... I hope some time or another to perform this peregrination with him but as yet there are few roads passable ... He met with a very cordial reception from the Planters.¹⁶

At the same time Lady Frances made a strong impression upon a local Irishman who reported that she took more than perfunctory interest in domestic matters:

[Sir Lowry's] lady is also a most amiable woman. They have five fine children whom she instructs herself. She is so domestic as to look into her family affairs, even to seeing the bedrooms are in good order and attending to every household affair the same as an English farmer's wife. In doing this, she sets an example that was much needed in this profligate immoral island, and what makes it come with double force is that she is one of the best-informed, clever women of whom England can boast.¹⁷

Lady Frances' third daughter, little Frances Cole, was born on 9 April 1824 in Port Louis. Lady Frances' wit becomes apparent in these lines from a letter addressed to her mother four months later:

Lowry wished to have her called Frances; I added Virginia as a memento of her birthplace - & Maria & Fredrick Robinson being her Sponsors she is also Maria, Fredrica - by this means almost deserving the name of Miss Alphabet Cole!¹⁸

Their sixth child was christened Frances Maria Frederica Virginia on 23 July.¹⁹ Sir Lowry notified Lady Malmesbury of the new arrival in his own inimitable manner:

You will be pleased to hear (altho' I know you think we ought to leave off those naughty things) that Fanny was safely delivered of a little Girl on the 9th last & that both are going on prosperously, altho she made her appearance in the very worst weather of rain & wind [that] I ever I think experienced - as she does not come in the shape of a nasty boy I hope her sex will plead her excuse with you for coming at all.²⁰

Nursing tasks were now added to Lady Frances Cole's daily routine of the care and education of her children, with whom she was spending in excess of four hours every day.²¹ She was then forty-two years old, and firmly independent; nevertheless the solitary task of bringing up six children in a foreign culture and climate did cause concern to the family in England and, evidently, a rumour circulated that she needed an extra maid to help her. When Lady Frances learned of this her reply was indignant: in any case, if she had required the extra help it would have been quite possible to have hired a maid in Mauritius.

I cannot conceive when & how the request originated of my having sent for a Maid, unless it be that Mrs Wade did so - Such a thing never entered my head - Those I brought with me have gone on most excellently both Morally & Physically hitherto & answer all my purposes perfectly - If it were to be unfortunately otherwise I scarcely know what I should do, but sending for one to England would be my last resource.²²

Lady Frances might not have required a maid, however, she did need assistance with the education of her children; moreover she lacked stimulating company, the summer of 1824 being an example:

We have been leading a perfectly quiet & monotonous life here, since I last wrote - I have not strayed out of the grounds since Christmas day & have very little thought of doing so. We are pretty far advanced in the summer season & the heat is occasionally great altho' we have never

seen the Thermometer above 84 - The most oppressive days are those of rain, but hitherto we have had but few - Lowry goes to Town every Tuesday to transact business & give a dinner & we generally have some of the French or English staying here - but there are but few ladies amongst these guests & I have every morning to myself.²³

Perhaps Lisinka responded to this evident need for assistance, perhaps she wished to offer her companionship to Lady Frances, or maybe she had her own reasons for doing what she did do. Towards the end of 1824 the one person upon whose friendship and assistance Lady Frances Cole could depend was preparing for a long sailing passage. That November Lady Frances reported to her mother that Lisinka's "box of treasures" had arrived safely. However, Lisinka was still to be found in England early in the New Year, by which time Lady Frances was experiencing anxiety concerning the health of her child. She wrote to Lisinka's elder sister, Miss Cozens:

I must begin my letter my dearest Cos. by wishing you & Lisha a Happy New Year and as many as will bring with them comfort & happiness - My own strain will not on this occasion be quite as cheerful as usual, but I have no right to expect to be without my share of troubles in this world & I hope you will give me credit for having this always in mind & not allowing the full value of the blessings I do possess, to vanish from my sight altho' they be clouded over with some anxieties! These I have been suffering under for the last month have arisen from the severe and dangerous illness of my dear little Baby.²⁴

There was no visible improvement in the child's health by June. In an effort to help her eight month old child, little Frances, recover away from the summer heat, Lady Frances moved to the coast in order "to try Sea bathing - this failed of its effects."²⁵

On 28 April 1825 His Majesty's Ship Owen Glendower (42 guns) sailed into Simon's Bay at the Cape of Good Hope, under the command of Commodore Hood Hanway Christian (1784-1851), with Lisinka Cozens on board. The Commodore's wife and family, who accompanied him, were moving to the Cape colony, where he first had

taken command of the Fleet in July 1822, succeeding the late Commodore Nourse (d. 1824), whose brother's daughter was also on board his ship.

The Cole family in Mauritius had reason to be grateful to Commodore Christian because he had arranged for Lisinka to join the ship when they had sailed from Portsmouth on 22 February that year. Lisinka's final destination was not Cape Town but Port Louis, although she had several friends in the Cape colony, and would return to Cape Town with the Coles a few years later.

There is a possibility that the favour executed by the Commodore was to convey Lisinka free of charge. It may have been because neither she nor the Cole family themselves were wealthy enough to reimburse the Commodore who, it seems, was close enough a friend to spend much time with the Coles at Mauritius subsequently. In 1826, however, Commodore Christian ended the footing on which he had lived with the Coles when he had first arrived at Mauritius. From a letter written by Lady Frances we know that they had been anxious to maintain this relationship "from feeling obliged to him for bringing Lisinka out" to them.²⁶

Although Mauritius was on the route from India to the Cape, and many ships called there on their journey to England, most of these ships bypassed Mauritius on the outward journey. It did not take Lady Frances long to ascertain this fact:

As far as I can collect the communications between this Island & France are pretty much the same as between this & England, frequent to the Mother Countries but rare from it - We are the sufferers from this but it is better than none.²⁷

Early in August Lady Frances wrote to Lady Malmesbury: "Direct from England I fear we cannot hope to hear above two or three times a year so that I hope you will have written thro' the Cape".²⁸ This indicates that ships from England called infrequently at Mauritius. Communication between Mauritius and the Cape was far more regular, particularly as the Royal Navy had been using Simon's Bay (later Simonstown) as a safe winter anchorage since 1812 and, by this time, had set up a base there for suppressing

the East African slave trade. Captain Owen also had used Simon's Bay and Port Louis as his bases when setting out to chart Africa's eastern coastline (Burrows 93-97; 156).

The weather also played a role in shipping movements during those years. Summer was the hurricane season in Mauritius and, not infrequently, ships which were unfortunate enough to be in equatorial waters, were lost in the storms.²⁹ Contrary winds had even delayed the Cole's arrival at Port Louis in 1823. Lady Frances explained the delays in receiving correspondence to her mother:

You will have been longer than usual without hearing from me, altho' I have not missed any opportunity of writing, because this is our bad season & we have experienced it in full force.³⁰

The summer storms and hurricanes meant that communication between England and Mauritius was cut off for more than six months of the year.³¹

Another factor which might have contributed to Lisinka's late embarkation was the availability not only of a passage to Mauritius but also, more particularly, an appropriate escort. Swaisland explains the plight of the unmarried woman traveller:

The early years of the nineteenth century were difficult ones for women travellers ... For the single woman, without the protection of husband or family, sexual harassment by the crew or other passengers was an all too frequent occurrence.(16)

It is noteworthy that Lisinka did not embark under the auspices of any of the middle-class emigration societies which existed at that time; her voyage was organised entirely between Commodore Christian and the Coles.³² Although countless women did undertake sea voyages with a view to emigrate in those times, middle-class women received no assistance and, more importantly, travelled without protection (Swaisland 18). It was, thus, a remarkable feat for a woman of Lisinka's class to set sail from England for a destination some two month's journey hence.

A sea voyage was not without its inherent risks. Disease took its toll and burials at sea were a common occurrence. The southern African coast was virtually uncharted until Captain Owen's survey began in 1822, and even his ship, the Leven, struck a reef

while sailing around Cape Point in 1822 (Burrows 93). If the reefs and rocks did not do their damage, the treacherous Cape seas and winds did.

Pirates roamed the seas amongst the slave-trading and smuggling ships. Lisinka would later record in her journal one such incident in which the schooner, St Helena, was boarded and plundered on the journey from St Helena to Sierra Leone, on 6 April 1830. A number of the crew were brutally murdered.

Apart from these risks, such voyages were also extremely uncomfortable. It was almost impossible to wash linen and clothing on board a ship, therefore a vast amount had to be carried. In the introduction to her mother's Journal of five years spent in Manila, Macao, and the Cape of Good Hope from 1829-1834, Katherine Hillard writes:

A lady was obliged to provide herself with at least six dozen of every kind of underclothing, not to mention the variety of other garments that were needed for a voyage that took the traveller from the temperate to the torrid zone and back again to the temperate. (Hillard v.)

Lady Frances also recorded the tedium of such tropical nights: "In this heat I spend [the evenings] chiefly on deck, which covered with an awning during the day adds a spacious drawing room to our apartment & is at night delightfully cool".³³ It must have been with great relief after just such a sea-passage that Lisinka arrived at the Cape in 1825.

Ten days after her arrival, the General Palmer sailed into Table Bay, having also sailed from Portsmouth on 22 February 1825. Amongst her passengers was the late Commodore Nourse's brother's son. When this ship sailed again, on 19 May, her destination was Mauritius, and Lisinka had taken her place on board. She wrote to Lady Malmesbury soon after her arrival in Port Louis, describing the conditions of her journey:

There were four & twenty passengers on board the General Palmer, which made the dining room somewhat crowded & the dinner a very tedious ceremony - I tried to go thro' it twice, but as each time it made me feel very uncomfortable, I obtained the consent of the Captain to

dine in my own Cabin. I was sick three times only, but I suffered a little from head aches owing to my being obliged to live without air in my cabin for several days as the roughness of the sea obliged all those who occupied the lower Deck to keep their Portholes closed.³⁴

The winter passage from the Cape to Mauritius was a rough one of three weeks' duration and Lisinka's arrival there was proved a notable coincidence in two respects. Firstly, the passengers landed at Port Louis on 11 June 1825 on the anniversary of the day on which the ship the Charles Grant had cast anchor there two years before. The Charles Grant had carried the then new Governor of Mauritius, Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, and his family. Moreover, the voyage had been the same length as hers had been: eleven weeks, if one deducted the one week that she had taken to sail between Madeira and Teneriffe.

Secondly, Lady Frances Cole had been advised by her doctors to take her youngest child, Frances (known as "Fanny"), on a cruise "towards the Southern & cooler Latitudes" for two or three weeks in order to improve her health. The Colonial brig, the Wizard, at the Governor's disposal to send wherever he chose, was appropriated for this purpose and embarked from the windward side of the Island, to put in at Port Louis for water and other supplies. While lying off the port, the General Palmer had sailed in from the Cape and, within a very short time, Lady Frances had had her first meeting with Lisinka in the southern hemisphere on board the Wizard. Later Lady Frances communicated her excitement in a letter to Miss Cozens:

Only think of the extraordinary manner & place in which Lisha & I met! No doubt she has written to you all about it, I will therefore only say, what need hardly be said, how delighted I was to see her - & looking very remarkably well - Her voyage having been a party of pleasure, her visit to the Cape another & every thing propitious & pleasant to her.³⁵

The voyage of the Wizard was delayed for one night so that Lady Frances could speak with her dear friend and, although Lisinka expressed the wish to go with her, it was not considered sensible for her to cruise for another fortnight at sea after the long sea

time to come in and cast anchor alongside of her - what a curious meeting on the Seas! I just come into Port & Fanny just going out!

I am happy to say she looks well considering that lately she has been enduring much fatigue of body as well as great anxiety of mind - but I trust she will soon see the reward of all her exertions in seeing the sweet little Fanny restored to perfect health - she has no remains of illness now, but her looks tell how much she has suffered - she is not thin, but she looks bloodless, but even now she is pretty, & her little face full of animation. ... I preferred coming here at once. I wished to have accompanied Fanny, but she would not hear of it.³⁸

A while beforehand Lady Frances Cole had described the climate and its regulation of their daily routine to Miss Cozens. Already evident in her words is a hint of the quiet life which later would develop into loneliness. Sir Lowry Cole's "quiet existence", on the other hand, meant that he was always surrounded by male company, from which his wife was excluded:

Here it is really a delightful climate - if during the middle of the day it is more pleasant to be quiet you are completely refreshed by the evenings, nights & mornings which are always cool & pleasant & as we have now fallen completely into Creole habits & dine at four precisely.³⁹

Almost a year later Lady Frances Cole reported to her mother, Lady Malmesbury, another change in their daily schedule:

Our day begins earlier & ends earlier ... We dine late because after trying each way Lowry finds it agrees better with him & we go to bed as early as this will admit of pleasantly.⁴⁰

Lisinka quickly adapted to her new life at Mauritius and adopted the Coles' "Creole habits". Shortly after her arrival she wrote to Lady Malmesbury:

The weather is delectable - the morning fresh & bracing & the middle of the day not at all too hot if you remain quietly in the House which I am

quite ready to do - I was up at half past five & mean to continue this practice.⁴¹

The Wizard returned to Port Louis on 27 June with Lady Frances, little Fanny, and Arthur. By this time Lisinka was well settled at Reduit, the Cole's summer residence, and Lady Frances, upon her arrival in port, wrote and told Miss Cozens that she hoped to be reunited with her friend and house-guest that evening. Young Fanny's health was still a cause of concern:

I think my poor invalid has gained something by this very disagreeable remedy, but she is still teething and as long as that lasts I do not expect any real or permanent amendment - The cool season will help this & I am still resolved to hope much for the same Mercy that has hitherto preserved her thro' so long & severe an illness.⁴²

Subsequently, it was found necessary to remove little Fanny to the more temperate climate of the Cape for her recovery. "Miss Bee", as Fanny was known, was accompanied by Elizabeth Cook, a servant in the Cole household, and made an extraordinary recovery in Cape Town. By June 1827 she had recovered sufficiently to be described as a "riotous & rumbunctious child of three years & upwards, full of chatter and fun".⁴³

There was always impatience for mail with news from England. A ship arrived from England early in August 1825, but she brought "stale news & stale stores - both however at this distance better than none at all."⁴⁴ Lady Malmesbury had sent with the ship a very pretty gown for Frances but the dowager probably had had reservations concerning her choice, and had suggested that if it were not suitable it should be given away. Lady Frances would not consider that possibility and told her so:

I do like it very much ... I shall get Lisha to cut out the laceholes her eyes being of the same sort of yours - You do mine far too much honour in supposing they could help me to do it neater than yours for they are fast on the decline & whilst you will do beautiful sattin [sic] stitch for

the next twenty years, I am already obliged to give up working & almost reading or writing by Candlelight!⁴⁵

Since Sir Lowry's arrival to take up the governorship of Mauritius in 1823, the arrival of his youngest brother, Arthur, from India, had been believed imminent. Lady Frances Cole had written to her mother:

Lowry is expecting Arthur Cole almost daily. He heard on his arrival that there had been letters from him saying he had heard of Lowry's appointment & should be here as soon as he could.⁴⁶

In September of that year Lady Frances still entertained some hope that he would arrive: "Arthur we shall very soon be looking for as I believe he only waits for an opportunity."⁴⁷ By the beginning of November, however, she had despaired of his arrival altogether: "We hear nothing of Arthur which I do not understand - but I fear he will not come this year."⁴⁸

Arthur Cole had had a most distinguished career since joining the East India Company as a cadet in 1801. Whilst posted at Mysore in 1809, his role in commanding his master's troops to quell the rebellion that had broken out in the Maharajah's dominions had been highly commended by Lord Minto, the Governor General. Arthur had been promoted to Acting Resident of Mysore with the assurance from Lord Minto that he would be offered the position of Resident when the post fell vacant (Cole and Gwynn 210-12).

Arthur Cole's increasing prosperity and warm generosity is evident in the gift he had sent Lady Frances Cole in October 1824. She wrote to her mother to tell her about the gift:

Arthur has lately sent me a very nice horse from India which I have now ridden for the last three weeks, with great advantage & pleasure to myself.⁴⁹

Notwithstanding the arrival of the horse from India, by the time Lisinka arrived in Mauritius in June 1825, Arthur Cole had yet to make his appearance. At the head of her very first letter to Lady Malmesbury from the Island Lisinka had added the words: "Mr

Cole is daily expected, as he has been for the last year."⁵⁰ When Arthur Cole did arrive, on Christmas Day 1825, he had not seen Sir Lowry for nearly twenty-six years.⁵¹ It was also the first time that Lisinka had met him. Although she was not the first to report the exciting news of his arrival to Lady Malmesbury, her first impressions of him are interesting:

At last Mr Cole is arrived! & great indeed was the joy that his coming occasioned to all the family ... He, Mr Cole, looked wretchedly ill on his arrival but he has been improving daily - & Dr Dyce is of the opinion that there is nothing really wrong with him, & that change of air & a little change of system will quite restore his health; he is a Giant in size about six feet three, but so gentle in manner that he is not at all formidable - I like him very much, but then you will say that I am prejudiced in favor [sic] of every member of his family, & will not be inclined to think the better of him, for my saying that he puts me much in mind of Lady Florence except that he does not talk so much which I allow to be an improvement.⁵²

Of the health of the man who had once described himself as "a most determined Bachelor",⁵³ Lady Frances told her mother: "He is only the wreck of what must have been a most magnificent man".⁵⁴ Two days later Lady Frances wrote to Miss Cozens:

Lowry had hoped better things and was therefore less prepared to see him so much shaken as he is. We have however the consolation of hearing from his Medical Attendants that there is nothing in his complaints but what are within reach of medicine & likely to give way to change of Climate & if they induce him to give up India altogether which I trust they may do, they will at least have the merit of doing him that infinite service, for the more I hear of that [---] land of riches & luxury, the less disposed I am to desire it as a residence for any one I have a regard for!⁵⁵

Arthur Cole remained with his family at Mauritius for more than a year, recuperating from his sojourn in India, before travelling on to the Cape in May 1827, on his way home to England.⁵⁶

Whilst health had been one of the subjects of most of her letters, Lady Frances Cole had continually assured her mother of the well-being of the other members of her family. To one lengthy report of such a nature she added:

Lisinka bears the heat infinitely better than I expected & is perfectly well & likely to continue so I think if not called upon to to expose herself more than she is at present.⁵⁷

Of her own health she wrote, not without self-deprecation: "I am myself in robust health feeling quite independent as I seem to have given up my usual trade and am quite satisfied with the blessings I possess!"⁵⁸ Her "trade" referred to her bearing children and, for the time being, her six "blessings" kept both herself and Lisinka well-occupied.

Inasmuch as we have more information recorded about Lisinka from her sojourn in Mauritius than we do of her activities at the Cape of Good Hope, and as this information is crucial in order for us to assess her role within the Cole family, we need to consider exactly what functions Lisinka performed within the household during those three years; after all, there is neither evidence nor reason to believe that Lisinka's status altered between Mauritius and the Cape.

That Lisinka had been a guest of Lord Malmesbury's at Henley in 1805 may be certain; that she was a guest of the Coles' in Mauritius in 1825 is undoubted; however, between the two there was a marked difference. In 1805, Lisinka and her sister were in need of assistance, having left Windsor under the strange circumstances already mentioned. Furthermore, it was not to be an extended residence - it carried with it no obligations and no duties. Lisinka's journey overseas in 1825 was different entirely.

Firstly, Lisinka would not have undertaken the journey unless she believed that her stay there would be an extended one. Although she never considered herself an emigrant, Lisinka did expect to spend some years in the southern hemisphere. Secondly, it is unlikely that Lisinka would have embarked for Mauritius unless she was invited to

go. Although no documentary evidence has emerged concerning such an invitation, the Coles would have had to provide accommodation for her and committed themselves to an extended visit. Thirdly, Lisinka would have expected to have assisted Lady Frances in whatever way she could during her stay however long it proved to be: she was not an ordinary guest.

James Henry Cole, aged four, wrote to his grandmother, Lady Malmesbury: "Lisinka do teach me to learn geophragy [sic] & Mamma teach me to do some lessons."⁵⁹ His elder sister, Florence Cole, aged nine, wrote the same day: "Lisinka teaches me & is so good a teacher that Mamma says I work very well for my age - & Lisinka says if I take pains I shall work as well as my Grandmamma!"⁶⁰ It would appear that Lisinka assisted Lady Frances with the care and education of her children.

Their children's education occupied Sir Lowry's and Lady Frances Cole's minds constantly. Early in 1825, before Lisinka arrived, Arthur Cole was seven-and-a-half years old, and the family was considering that a tutor ought to be found and employed to take care of his future education - certainly one could not be found in Mauritius. Latin, which was regarded at that time a language for men only, was not one of Lady Frances' accomplishments and, even if Sir Lowry Cole had a knowledge of Latin, husbands generally took very little part in their children's education. Lady Frances explained to her mother that the family were trying to find a tutor:

I had asked Mr Cooke to look out for a Tutor for Arthur & my Brother⁶¹ to see any one he might pick out - If he succeeds in finding the kind of person we wish for, he will be a great treasure & I shall be quite idle with only my Girls to teach - but I can hardly expect his arrival before the end of the year.⁶²

Towards the end of May, Lady Frances reported her success in finding a tutor to her mother: "I am beginning to be looking out for the Tutor for Arthur whom I told you I wrote for some months ago".⁶³ About the same time that Lisinka arrived in Mauritius, Rev. R.M. Causter took up his position in Sir Lowry's retinue as Tutor of Arthur and

William Cole. By April 1826 Lisinka could report upon the boys' progress in one of her letters to Lady Malmesbury:

Arthur appears to get on well with Latin; & what is very wonderful,
Willy of his own accord has taken to it very kindly.⁶⁴

Another month's teaching elicited a more favourable report: "Arthur gets on very fairly with his Tutor who is a well principled & very well conducted young man - & Willy is already deep in the sciences!"⁶⁵ Within a year of Mr Causter's arrival great progress had been made, about which Lady Frances sounded very satisfied:

Did I tell you [William] had begun Latin? Only think of Willy Cole studying a Latin grammar & really with some advantage for he has already got to the Verbs - Arthur is in Vergil of which he is very proud & he is I hope getting on well with Mr Causter who takes great pains with him.⁶⁶

The arrival of the Tutor meant that Lady Frances and Lisinka could devote their attention to the girls; however, we are uncertain of the content of that education. Lisinka played her part in the education of the Cole's daughters, a task which, she admitted, was not easy:

Lou requires all the patience I can muster - I never met with so slow a child in learning; though she is very far from being deficient in understanding, & rather shines in society.⁶⁷

In England during the early nineteenth century, education was available to the affluent in the cities through private academies and fashionable boarding schools for girls, although some parents preferred to employ governesses to educate their children at home. Teacher-training was rudimentary; nevertheless, schools for 'Genteel Young Ladies' were established. A typical school, in 1801, offered English Language, and various kinds of Plain and Ornamental Needlework for eighteen guineas per annum. Writing, Arithmetic, and Geography (with the use of the Globes) were each offered at half a guinea per quarter, and Dancing, Drawing, Music, and French language were offered separately for a further consideration. Such a curriculum was advertised as

being able to offer "a degree of knowledge exceeding the too often circumscribed limits of female education".⁶⁸

The education of the Coles' daughters seems to have been equally circumscribed in Mauritius, although with Lisinka having had some experience at Windsor with Miss Gomm and Miss Goldsworthy, the training within the curriculum considered useful for girls would have been of the highest standard.

The elder daughters were encouraged cautiously by their mother to take up music and French. Although both Lady Frances and Lisinka would have had a knowledge of the language, Lady Frances' reasons for employing a "little French girl" were probably because she wanted her children to speak with a truly French accent:

I intend taking Florence and Lou into Port Louis for Dancing & Music Masters but not the bulk of the family. I have got here a little French girl who may I trust bring them into the habit of speaking French - Florence & Arthur can read & write it tolerably, but I find I cannot give them the habit of speaking.⁶⁹

Lady Frances Cole also encouraged her children to take up music and dancing. About a year after her daughters had begun conversational French, Lady Frances wrote of their sound musical skills:

I think you would be surprised at the progress [Florence] has made in Music, which she has not learnt more than a year & three quarters - & that with no great natural taste, tho' with more than I originally thought she possessed - She has improved her ear wonderfully & she now dances quite in time ... I have begun music with Louisa much earlier seeing how much it had done for Florence's ear & she is also getting on very well ... I am sure I should never have advanced them in Music as the Mistress I have for them has done - She is really one of the best I ever met with for the Children & she is one of the things I shall regret here.⁷⁰

If "correct and lady-like manners were considered to be almost the be all and end all of a girl's education" (Smith 29), to which may be added the accomplishments of French,

music and dancing, then the Coles' daughters were educated in accordance with prevalent opinion and with great thoroughness.

With a Tutor for the boys, French and Music teachers for the girls, and a Dancing teacher for all of them, it is difficult to assess whether Lisinka was acting in the capacity of a governess. It would seem that she simply assisted Lady Frances in accomplishing her duties as a mother - there is no record of her having been paid for such services. The role of governess, therefore, does not fully answer the question of the reason for Lisinka's journey to Mauritius in 1825.

A solution may be found in the leisure time available for Lady Frances and in what she did with it. Activities such as riding, collecting insects, cultivating roses, sketching, writing letters, and attending balls fall within the nineteenth-century parameters of a genteel woman's life. Prior to Lisinka's arrival, Lady Frances Cole described a typical day in her life at Mauritius to her mother, Lady Malmesbury and, although there is no similar letter written from the Cape, there is little reason to suspect that her routine was any different there:

With respect to our way of life or goings on, I say but little, because there is little to say - Unless I could describe to you the every day existence you witnessed at Mareland - Our day begins earlier & ends earlier - but no sooner is breakfast over than, (as there) I settle my household concerns ... I spend the next three or four hours (or sometimes more) with my children, & the rest of the morning, till the sun is sufficiently low to admit of exercise, is passed in the Society of any one in the home, or in writing to your Ladyship, or du temps en temps in a gentle repose stretched on a couch with a well bound book in my hand!⁷¹

Lady Frances Cole did not readily mix with the French society at Mauritius. Soon after her arrival in Port Louis she had written to her mother:

[I] have had two Soirees to receive the French Ladies - Of course I can form no judgement of them as calculated for Society yet - but they are

not altogether in appearance what I expected - On the whole, much less pretty, more simple in their dress, & in many instances better mannered.⁷²

An extended quotation from a letter written to her mother only a month later illustrates Lady Frances' opinion of the "Ladies of Port Louis" as she called them. Having repeated details of their dress and appearance, she adds:

There is no doubt a great want of education - particularly in its more useful branches - for accomplishments they seek & many of them excel in, but their minds are as confined as the spot on which their Town stands & of course their manners partake of their ignorance - but, as I think I told you before, whatever they may be in reality, their outward deportment is strictly correct & ever far from Coquetry ... Hitherto I have received twice a week in order to give every one the benefit of seeing me - & I only hope they are not as tired of me as I am of them.⁷³

Matters did not improve. Early the following year Lady Frances Cole told her mother that they had been "leading a perfectly quiet and monotonous life." After explaining that she had not travelled beyond the grounds of Reduit since Christmas Day, she wrote: "Lowry goes to Town every Tuesday to transact business & give a dinner & we have generally some of the French or English staying here - but there are but few ladies amongst these guests & I have every morning to myself."⁷⁴ Whether Lady Frances Cole's attitude or the French women's aloofness was responsible for this position we are uncertain - perhaps it was a little bit of each. Sarah Austin, who wrote towards the end of the nineteenth century, confronted this attitude on the part of the British traveller in a foreign country:

The tone of English travellers is too frequently arrogant and contemptuous, even towards people whose pretensions on the score of civilization are little inferior to their own. When they come into contact with communities or races inferior to them in natural organization or in

acquired advantages, the feeling of a common humanity often seems entirely to disappear.(Austin 1-2)

In so far as it is difficult to establish Lisinka Cozens' exact relationship to the Cole family, our current understanding of the terms "guest" or "governess" does not explain the nuances of her role and her precarious, often ambiguous, status as an unmarried woman. From Lady Frances Cole's descriptions of life at Mauritius we may conclude that although she had the time to educate her children she lacked the refined company that such a woman as Lisinka could provide. More than any formal position as a live-in governess or childminder, Lisinka, who had grown up beside Lady Frances Cole and knew her family intimately, travelled to Mauritius in order to be her companion.

Since 1823, when they had arrived in Mauritius, the Coles had entertained the hope that Colonel John Bell would be transferred to Mauritius, but the Colonel declined the offer.⁷⁵ The Bells' visit probably was arranged in order for them to have a firsthand view of Mauritius, and perhaps change their minds. It is Lady Frances Cole's explanation of the matter to her mother which indicates how much she needed company:

You will have heard from Catherine herself probably that after considering the subject in every point of view ... Col. Bell has decided that he could not in prudence remove here - It is of course a most grievous disappointment to us both for Catherine had always flattered herself it might be managed, but as he risked it as much as we did & certainly his inclinations led him entirely to the removal, one must rest satisfied that he is right & the more so as he expresses great fear that the additional heat of this climate would not do for him & that he thinks it more than probable he would not be able to remain here any time. To Catherine & myself the being together wd [sic] have made the whole difference as to comfort & enjoyment, but this would have been compleatly [sic] destroyed if either of them had suffered from the removal.⁷⁶

The Bells visited Mauritius in 1824. Lady Frances welcomed the opportunity of seeing her sister, Catherine, who also would have helped her with the baby, Frances, who had been born in April.

The Bells are still with us & likely to remain I hope for some weeks longer as the Commodore⁷⁷ was detained here & is gone on a long cruise. She has been very much feted here & has led quite a dissipated life since we came to Town, which is rather an exertion in these climates, but she finds Port Louis less hot than she expected & pleasanter in some respects than Reduit from being dryer.⁷⁸

Such letters from Lady Frances would have been circulated by Lady Malmesbury and Lisinka would have eagerly read the news of her dear friends overseas. It was to this need for companionship that Lisinka responded late in 1824, when plans were made and her trunk sent on ahead to Mauritius. From 1825, once Lisinka had arrived, the two women could experience the "Creole life" together:

There was a very pretty ball at Mrs Blackburn's last Monday - she is quite a Creole in her love of dancing, for notwithstanding the heat she waltzed continuously. The Government Ball on Thursday was also very gay - next Thursday is the last & after that I hope Fanny will remain on quietly at Reduit - we are all tired of the weekly journeys to Port Louis.⁷⁹

In the same letter, however, Lisinka tells Lady Malmesbury that life generally in Mauritius is dull: "Hitherto I have led so quiet & uniform a life here that I have had nothing to relate. I have only been twice to Port Louis since the Races ... but our society [at Reduit] consists chiefly of men both French & English."⁸⁰ The companionship offered by Lisinka would have helped Lady Frances cope with her existence in a predominantly masculine society. Their relationship at the Cape of Good Hope was an extension of this.

In Villette, Lucy Snowe assessed her ambivalent relationship with Madame Beck as "a hybrid between gouvernante and lady's-maid" (Brontë 71). If Lisinka experienced

ambivalence about her position, it was rather as an amalgamation of governess and childminder, on the one hand, and companion and guest, on the other. It was Lisinka's role as companion that was the most important because she was to remain with the family for the rest of Sir Lowry Cole's life. From letters of condolence addressed to Lady Frances after his death in 1842, we learn that Lisinka had remained with the family since their return to England in 1833.

By 1824, however, Sir Lowry Cole had been swiftly disillusioned of the prospects he had believed would accrue from his governorship of Mauritius. In November, Sir Lowry wrote to his friend, the Duke of Wellington: "How far I may succeed in the object I had in coming out, I have some doubts."⁸¹ Early in 1826 it became evident that rumours were circulating that Sir Lowry would be moving to the Cape. In an official letter to Judge Blackburne, the Chief Justice of Mauritius, Sir Lowry addressed this problem, thinking it fit to add: "I really have not the slightest expectation of going to the Cape, and am much more likely to go home."⁸² In March Sir Lowry complained to Lt. General Sir H. Taylor:

About six months ago they thought it right to give me a council here to assist me with the Government - and I already see seeds of discord in the Said Council - which may very possibly dispose me to wish to return home sooner than I otherwise might, for if I cannot remain without living in hot water, my tempers constitution will not stand both that and a Tropical Climate.⁸³

Late in August 1826, when a most confidential letter did arrive from Lord Bathurst, wishing to ascertain whether Sir Lowry would consider taking upon himself the Governorship of the Cape Colony in the event of Lord Charles Somerset's failure to return there, Sir Lowry readily accepted but not without adding a rejoinder:

Your Lordship's wishes respecting secrecy shall be strictly attended to by me - But from what source it comes I know not but there is scarce any Communication to me from the Colonial Office however

Confidential or Important that the Public are not inform'd of it as soon as I am.⁸⁴

Lady Frances, who had exercised great patience in the vicissitudes of her tropical sojourn, was quite ready to return home to England, as her letter, written early in January 1826 to the elder Miss Cozens, explains:

I must begin my letter ... by sincerely wishing you a Happy New Year & many returns of it adding a prayer equally interesting to us both I believe, that not many more [New Years] may pass over our heads with so large a portion of the Globe between us!⁸⁵

Lisinka had also communicated her personal feelings on the subject to Lady Malmesbury:

I suppose the next intelligence from England will throw some light on the affairs at the Cape and enable us to judge if indeed there is any probability of our going there - as far as I am concerned, I should be sorry for the change; & in some respects I do not think it would benefit those principally concerned.⁸⁶

Sir Lowry told Lord Goderich in 1827: "I am anxiously looking out for letters from England as they will probably confirm or not the chance I have of succeeding to Lord Chas. [sic] Somerset at the Cape".⁸⁷ The rumours of such a move to the Cape colony persisted and spread: it seemed useless to deny them. Evidently, Lady Malmesbury heard something and Lady Frances responded at once:

I wonder you should for a moment believe the report of Lowry's going ad interim to the Cape, because a little reflection proved it impossible - for it must have necessitated an interim here & a degree of expense & inconvenience to us which never could have been expected or asked - I heard from Catherine a week ago & find Lord Charles was either actually gone or on the point of embarking for England on board the *Atlas Chinaman*⁸⁸ - He leaves two of his little children behind & keeps

some of his houses saying he shall return there in the course of a year which I shall not be at all surprised [to] hear him do.⁸⁹

In the meantime, Lisinka had been ill. It was thought wise for her only to accompany Lady Frances on a brief visit to Monplaisir, the Blackburn's home, at the beginning of June. Her recovery must have been swift, because the two women proceeded to undertake an excursion of the entire Island. Lady Frances Cole told her mother: "A five day's tour in some of the most beautiful parts of the Island, dissipated all remains of her indisposition."⁹⁰

There were two other reasons for this journey. Firstly, Lady Frances had never seen much of the Island and now, faced with the possibility of the move to the Cape, she was determined to see the scenery before she left Mauritius. It seemed quite likely that their duties on the Island were coming to an end - there was time in which to travel. Secondly, Lady Frances was pregnant again. She had hinted at this in a diplomatic note to her mother:

I was well repaid for the trouble, for the Scenery is strikingly romantic & singular to European eyes & was as little fatigued as I could be by any thing at this time.⁹¹

To her friend in Reading, Miss Cozens, she wrote a much fuller story:

[We] were very hospitably yet simply received by the Inhabitants in whose homes we rested & returned home considering ourselves well compensated for some fatigue & a certain degree of inconvenience! I was likely, as you will have heard, to feel this just more now than usual for I have begun my old trade again & look to beginning my second half dozen in October - However I was none the worse for the exertion & am quite as well if not better than usual, which makes me begin to think practice must make perfect.⁹²

On their return from the tour the two women spent some days at Reduit before Lady Frances continued to Mahébourg with the two youngest children. Lisinka followed her in a couple of days with the others. Between this time and their departure for the

Cape of Good Hope, other than the birth of Henrietta Cole on 6 October, their regular existence on the Island was upset only by a hurricane.⁹³ Before they left Mauritius there were gratifying "Fetes & demonstrations of regard & regret"⁹⁴ and they sailed for Simon's Bay on the 18 August 1828.

Notes

- 1 Captain Owen, quoted in Burrows p.138.
- 2 Irish professional gentleman, undated letter (quoted in Cole and Gwynn 209).
- 3 Sir Lowry Cole, Despatch 2 to R. Wilmot, 27 July 1823, PRO 30/43/86.
- 4 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Viscount Cole, 28 July 1822, PRO 30/43/84.
- 5 James Henry Cole, birth certificate, PRO 30/43/83.
- 6 The retinue included: "four or five English maids, an Irish gardener from Florence Court who lived with them all his life, a couple of grooms and the usual company of A.D.C.'s" (Cole and Gwynn 203).
- 7 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 7 Apr. 1823, PRO 30/43/122.
- 8 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 7 Apr. 1823, PRO 30/43/122.
- 9 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 21 Apr. 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 10 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 21 Apr. 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 11 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Sir McGregor, 16 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/86.
- 12 Cole and Gwynn 84; Krüger et al. 825; Lord Malmesbury, letter to Frances Harris, 15 Oct. 1815, PRO 30/43/106; Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 21 Apr. 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 13 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 26 June 1823, PRO 30/43/122.
- 14 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Enniskillen, 28 June 1823, PRO 30/43/122.
- 15 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 26 June 1823, PRO 30/43/122.
- 16 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 24 Oct. 1823, PRO 30/43/122. [Only a portion of this letter survives.]
- 17 Irish "professional gentleman", letter to brother in Belfast, c.1825, (Cole and Gwynn 209-10).
- 18 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 24 Aug. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 19 Frances Maria Cole, baptismal certificate, PRO 30/43/83.

- 20 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 25 Apr. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 21 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 20 Nov. 1824, PRO 30/43/122.
- 22 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 24 Aug. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 23 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 18 Jan. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 24 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 2 Jan. 1825, PRO 30/43/122.
- 25 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 27 June 1825, PRO 30/43/122.
- 26 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 26 Nov. 1826, PRO 30/43/32.
- 27 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 26 July 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 28 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 5 Aug. 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 29 e.g. The loss of the Delight in the hurricane of 23 Feb. 1824. see Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Commodore Nourse, April 1824, PRO 30/43/86; and report to Captain Düring A.D.C., 7 Mar. 1828, PRO 30/43/109/2.
- 30 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 3 Apr. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 31 see Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 18 Jan. 1824, PRO 30/43/32. As a consequence of this, because mail was often lost or arrived in batches, correspondence was numbered. This makes it easier for us to assess where mail was lost or has been destroyed.
- 32 Sir Lowry Cole, letters to W. Hay, 29 July 1826, 11 Nov. 1826, PRO 30/43/86 299, 333.
- 33 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 21 Apr. 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 34 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 12 June 1825, PRO 30/43/33.
- 35 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 27 June 1825, PRO 30/43/122.
- 36 Sir Lowry Cole was the second British Governor of Mauritius.
- 37 i.e. Dr Dyce, who travelled out to Mauritius with the Governor's party; and Dr Burke, a local doctor.
- 38 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 12 June 1825, PRO 30/43/33.
- 39 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 15 Dec. 1823, PRO 30/43/122.
- 40 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 20 Nov. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 41 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 12 June 1825, PRO 30/43/33.
- 42 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 27 June 1825, PRO 30/43/122.
- 43 John Bell, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 10 June 1827, PRO 30/43/44/3.
- 44 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 21 Aug. 1825, PRO 30/43/32.
- 45 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 21 Aug. 1825, PRO 30/43/32.
- 46 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 28 June 1823, PRO 30/43/32.

- 47 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 2 Sept. 1823, PRO.
- 48 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 2 Nov. 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 49 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 20 Nov. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 50 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 12 June 1825, PRO 30/43/33.
- 51 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 31 Dec. 1825, PRO 30/43/32.
- 52 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 9 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/33.
- 53 Arthur Cole, letter to Lady Grantham, 8 Jan. 1806, (Cole and Gwynn 53).
- 54 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 31 Dec. 1825, PRO 30/43/32.
- 55 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 11 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/33.
- 56 Miss Cook, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 30 May 1827, PRO 30/43/44/3.
- 57 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 11 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/122.
- 58 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 13 June 1826, PRO 30/43/122.
- 59 James Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 19 Sept. 1825, PRO 30/43/32.
- 60 Florence Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 19 Sept. 1825, PRO 30/43/32.
- 61 i.e. Her brother-in-law, Charles Bell, in Cape Town.
- 62 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 13 Feb. 1825, PRO 30/43/32.
- 63 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, c. 19 May 1825, PRO 30/43/32.
- 64 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, Good Friday 1826, PRO 30/43/33.
- 65 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 10 May 1826, PRO 30/43/32, PRO, Kew.
- 66 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 1 Apr. 1826, PRO 30/43/32.
- 67 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, Good Friday 1826, PRO 30/43/33.
- 68 The Salisbury Journal 8 Sept. 1801.
- 69 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 13 June 1826, PRO 30/43/122.
- 70 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 13 Nov. 1827, PRO 30/43/32.
- 71 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 20 Nov. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 72 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 28 June 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 73 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 26 July 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 74 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 18 Jan. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.

- 75 Sir Lowry Cole, letters to Sir H. Taylor, 4 Sept. 1823, 6 June 1824, PRO 30/43/86; Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 29 Sept. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 76 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 22 Oct. 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 77 i.e. Commodore Joseph Nourse (c.1779-1824), who had arranged to transport the Bells both to and from Mauritius, subsequently died of fever, thus delaying their departure for the Cape (Kruger and De Kock 3:660).
- 78 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 24 Aug. 1824, PRO 30/43/32.
- 79 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 5 Sept. 1825, PRO 30/43/33.
- 80 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 5 Sept. 1825, PRO 30/43/33.
- 81 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to the Duke of Wellington, 20 Nov. 1824, PRO 30/43/86.
- 82 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Judge Blackburne, 20 Feb. 1826, PRO 30/43/86.
- 83 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Sir H. Taylor, 30 March 1826, PRO 30/43/86, PRO, Kew.
- 84 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Bathurst, 24 Aug. 1826, PRO 30/43/96.
- 85 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 11 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/122.
- 86 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 9 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/33.
- 87 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 24 Sept. 1827, PRO 30/43/86.
- 88 Lord Charles Somerset had sailed on board the Atlas from the Cape on 5 March 1826. He arrived in England on 17 May.
- 89 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 1 Apr. 1826, PRO 30/43/32.
- 90 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 13 June 1826, PRO 30/43/122.
- 91 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 13 June 1826, PRO 30/43/32.
- 92 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Miss Cozens, 13 June 1826, PRO 30/43/122.
- 93 i.e. the hurricane of 5 Mar. 1828. see Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 11 Mar. 1828, PRO 30/43/32.
- 94 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 23 July 1828, PRO 30/43/32.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Cape of Good Hope

Introduction

Like Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope was a strategic port of refreshment for British ships on the long route between England and the East Indies and, also, a base from which to send out ships in the battle to combat slavery, which the British Government was striving to end. Trade between Mauritius and the Cape had been brisk since the 1820s, the ports mainly trading sugar and wheat (Arkin 90).

Unlike Mauritius, the Cape Colony was a vast country with a variety of races and cultures cohabiting the sub-continent. As the borders of the colony were pushed inland, tension mounted and cross-border incursions made frontier farming difficult for the settlers.

The corruption which Sir Lowry had discovered upon his arrival at Mauritius also existed at the Cape; even the autocratic Lord Charles Somerset had departed ignominiously to answer charges of maladministration in England (Peires 478). A Commission of Enquiry had been set up and, following their recommendations to reduce expenditure, Sir Lowry Cole discovered that, as Governor of the Cape colony, his salary was reduced to £7000 a year. On this salary Sir Lowry Cole had to refurnish virtually the whole of Government House, and organise the rental of his own country house, a matter he found "a serious one".¹

It is not without reason, therefore, that Cory referred to South Africa as "the grave of great men's reputations" (2:377), and it was the challenge of this reputation which Sir Lowry Cole faced when he stepped ashore at Simon's Town on 7 September 1828.

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Lisinka suffered from acute sea-sickness for most of the twenty-day voyage to Simon's Bay and must have welcomed the sight of land, even if she had been perspicacious concerning the prospect of their move to the Cape colony: "I should be sorry for the change; & in some respects I do not think it would benefit those principally concerned".² Sir Lowry Cole had had second thoughts before their ship sailed, and had expressed his doubts about accepting the post of Governor at the Cape of Good Hope:

Although well considered at the time, from what I have since learned of affairs there, I doubt whether it would not have been wiser for me to have obtained permission to have gone home at the end of the year on leave. To remain here with my family another hot summer would not have been advisable. Between Lord Charles Somerset and Sir Rufane Donkin's squabbles, and the Commissioner's reforms and I might say upsetting of every old institution there, with a very diminished income and a country house to be provided out of it, I am not sanguine enough to look forward to derive either credit or profit by my residence there; it will probably therefore not be very long. (Cole and Gwynn 231-32)

There were two reasons why Lady Frances could look forward to their arrival at the Cape colony. Firstly, her young daughter was there already, having been sent there some time before on account of her health. Secondly, her sister, Catherine, lived in Cape Town with her husband, Colonel John Bell. In addition to this, there was a British society amongst the population, with whom Lady Frances Cole would feel at ease.

The entire party sailed from Mauritius on board the H.M.S. Tweed on 18 August, and anchored in Simon's Bay on Sunday 7 September 1828. The Colonist announced the arrival of the "new Government" on its front page:

H.M.S. Tweed arrived in Simon's Bay on Sunday, having on board His Excellency Sir Lowry Cole, and Lady Frances, their family, and suite.

The garrison of Cape Town was under arms during the greater part of yesterday, expecting His Excellency's arrival here. That has however been postponed until 12 o'clock this day, probably from the unfavorable [sic] state of the weather.³

By the following Friday, the Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette reported in its shipping column: "Arrived in Simon's Bay - Sept. 7th: H.M.S. Tweed, Capt. Lord J. Spencer Churchill, from Mauritius 18 Aug. for this port" and, listed amongst the passengers "Miss Couzins [sic]".⁴ Lady Frances Cole wrote to her mother very soon after their arrival:

We have got safe & well over our short but disagreeable voyage & are safely landed on the African Shores! ... We had but little bad weather & if the very greatest kindness & the most unremitted attention could make a Ship pleasant, we certainly met with it in Lord John Churchill! There never was so goodhumoured or accomodating a person & it was no small trial to have a family like ours on board ... Simon's Bay is between twenty & thirty miles from this place & it so happening that Govr. Bourke was absent, Lowry remained there a day to wait his return & we did not arrive here till yesterday.⁵

This delay must have made Lady Frances even more impatient to be reunited with her daughter whom she had not seen since March 1827.⁶ She told Lady Malmesbury:

You may imagine my impatience to see my darling Fanny, but you cannot imagine my astonishment at the change I found in her - She was the shadow of a shade when I parted with her - she is now, a chubby faced, rosy cheeked little urchin, as broad as she is long & chattering from morning till night - This return to health has so compleatly [sic] altered her, that I certainly should not have recognized her any where but where I saw her - She appeared to recognize all, or at least received us with open arms & is already quite at her ease with us.⁷

Lisinka's first impressions of the Cape colony, whether on her brief visit in 1825, or upon this arrival, have not survived. Lady Frances admitted that she was pleasantly surprised by what she found:

It would be premature in me to give any opinion of this place as yet, but I must say my first impression of it is far more favorable than I expected - Perhaps its thorough European character, compared with what I have just left may go some way in producing this & the climate as it is now, is certainly very invigorating tho' rather chilling to us Tropical birds - Its feel is that of a cold Autumnal Evening in a very dry part of England! - The Govt House is more spacious & less gloomy than I expected & the gardens tho' sadly neglected, very shady ... So much for externals - as to internals I have little to say except that resettling a large establishment is always a great bore, & that we are in all the miseries [sic] of doing so.⁸

Sir Lowry was anxious to acquire a summer residence before summer, but by mid-October they were still trying to settle. Lady Frances explained to her mother: "it is very difficult to find any tolerable sized home to let & I cannot conceive how any one could think or say that the Governor here should be deprived of his Country residence since there is scarcely an individual Dutch or English, (who can possibly do so,) who does not pass the summer months in the Country".⁹ The Bells had "a spacious and airy home" close to Government House, in Cape Town, but also kept a summer residence at Wynberg, "between the bays" (Bird 171), about eleven miles inland.¹⁰

In the meantime, many of their household goods and personal effects, which they had sent in advance, were lost when the ship was wrecked in Algoa Bay:

The crew, amongst whom was our gardener & a dozen Blacks belonging to us, were all most providentially saved - but every thing in the way of cargo went to the bottom & we have lost a good deal of furniture & useful articles of different kinds - my greatest personal loss is a very splendid Collection of Insects which I had been making ever since I was

at the Mauritius & amongst a thousand other minor losses, a box containing all my working materials ... Poor Col. Wade has been still a greater sufferer & has lost things to the value of 6, or 700 £ including books and papers never to be replaced.¹¹

It is likely that Lisinka also lost some items, although it is believed that her earlier journal accompanied her on board the H.M.S. Tweed. The journal, reproduced here, is labelled "continuation of Lisinka's journal" and its first entry, dated 22 October 1829, suggests that the earlier one would have closed with the entry for 21 October and, therefore, may have been preserved.

Their first summer at the Cape of Good Hope was particularly warm. The Coles rented Colonel Bird's cottage, in Wynberg, for five months:

Its chief merit is containing a sufficient number of rooms to hold us well packed & that of being shady & cool, which when we first came was very enjoyable, since then the season has been unusually cool & rainy & at times we have been obliged to have recourse to fruit.¹²

The Coles' official residence was Government House, of which Lady Frances wrote: "[It] is more spacious & less gloomy than I expected & the gardens tho' sadly neglected, very shady".¹³ Irons described the garden, the entrance to which was then at the top of Berg Street (later St George's Street):

They occupy an area of perhaps some fifty or more acres, extending from the city towards the suburbs at the foot of Table Mountain. A broad avenue of oak trees, upwards of half a mile long, leading directly through the grounds, forms a shady and much frequented promenade ... a large space near the Government house and private grounds is devoted to the purposes of a botanical garden, containing such a collection of trees, flowers, fruits and plants, indigenous and foreign, as perhaps few establishments can boast.(21).

Situated in the Company's garden, Government House was in dire need of repair. After the British occupation the flat roof had been replaced with a pitched one,

and the Governor, Sir George Yonge (1731-1812), had executed various alterations to the building, including the replacement of the staircase, to the chagrin of Lady Anne Barnard, who had written in 1799:

If Sir George will superintend the reparation of the publick buildings falling to decay (as they do here in a twelve months time almost, if not attended to so rapidly do the rains pierce and burst the clay walls if the smallest crevice gives them entrance) as well as he superintends the reparation of his own Kitchen he will be a Treasure, but as a governor is not quite in his place doing so, I don't expect that. (Robinson 212)

In his time, Lord Charles Somerset (1768-1831) had added the ballroom (Pearse 154). Once the Commissioners of Enquiry had completed their investigations, it was concluded that "the Govt Home in Cape Town is in such bad repair as to be barely habitable";¹⁴ however, Sir Lowry had to undertake various repairs before they could settle comfortably there. Later on he had to spend an additional sum in repairs to the place, for which he was soundly censured, and to which he replied:

Look at the Commissioner's report of Government House in Cape Town which they considered so bad as to recommend a new one should be built for the Governor ... If I cannot justify myself for the expense incurred in repairs and alterations made in Government House in Cape Town, let me be surcharged with it, but I cannot feel it unjust to my successor, whoever he may be, that he should be deprived by my fault from what I consider to be absolutely necessary for his health and comfort ... I will venture to assert that no Governor takes more pains to keep down expense than I have done, but I am very far from thinking it Economy to permit public buildings to fall into ruin, which is very much the case in this country.¹⁵

Lady Frances Cole's diary records interesting events in October 1829: "Sir E. Parry the famous Arctic Navigator put into Table Bay on his way to New South Wales". Rain had cleared the air the previous night, and Lady Frances recorded:

A most singular & beautiful Meteor was seen ... at almost 10 o'clock. It bore the appearance of a flash of Fire shooting forth many stars & after popping from East to West apparently somewhere between the Observatory & Cape Town it disappeared with an Explosion louder than the usual evening gun causes when the wind sends the sound towards the Town ... The most singular circumstance is, that the noise of the explosion did not reach the Earth till nearly three minutes after the disappearance of the Meteor! - the distance of which therefore from the Earth must have been immense! [sic].¹⁶

At Lady Frances Cole's request, Captain William Ronald, the Assistant Astronomer at the Observatory (1824-1831), was asked to provide more information. He submitted the following details "with the regret that he [had] nothing more interesting to offer on this subject":

On the 19th about 10 p.m. observed a blaze of intensely vivid light a little to the W. of North, and about the height of the Equator. The report was heard fully 2 1/2 minutes afterwards, and rather louder than that of the evening gun ... The distance of the Meteor must have been very considerable, probably not less than from 25 to 30 miles.- N. Ronald.¹⁷

The meteor was not Halley's Comet, which was to be sighted only six years later by John F.W. Herschel (1792-1871) on 28 October 1835 (Evans 195). Ten days after the sighting of the meteor, Captain and Mrs Ronald, Sir Lowry Cole, Rev. and Mrs Fallows, and John Bell were present when the final stone of the Observatory was laid (Warner, Astronomers 23).

Notes

- 1 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Bathurst, July 1827, PRO 30/43/96.
- 2 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 9 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/33.

- 3 The Colonist, Tues. 9 Sept. 1828. The reason for the delay was due to the absence of the Governor, General Bourke, who in 1826 had taken charge of the Government on the departure of Lord C. Somerset.
- 4 Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette, Fri. 12 Sept. 1828.
- 5 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 10 Sept. 1828, PRO 30/43/34.
- 6 Elizabeth Cook, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 30 May 1827, PRO 30/43/44/3.
- 7 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 10 Sept. 1828, PRO 30/43/34.
- 8 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 10 Sept. 1828, PRO 30/43/34.
- 9 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 13 Oct. 1828, PRO 30/43/34.
- 10 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 13 Oct. 1828, PRO 30/43/34.
- 11 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 13 Oct. 1828, PRO 30/43/34.
- 12 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 14 Feb. 1829, PRO 30/43/34.
- 13 Lady Frances Cole, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 10 Sept. 1828, PRO 30/43/34.
- 14 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Bathurst, July 1827, PRO 30/43/96.
- 15 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 4 Apr. 1831 (Cole and Gwynn 243).
- 16 Lady Frances Cole Cole, journal, PRO 30/43/114.
- 17 Capt. Ronald, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 23 Sept. [sic] 1829, PRO 30/43/111.

CHAPTER SIX

Genadendal

"It was Sunday morning when we approached the village; and the voice of sacred song was ascending from the rustic chapel, in the midst of its venerable grove of oaks, harmonising finely with the quiet sabbath-like seclusion of that beautiful spot" Thomas Pringle.(Wahl 103)

Introduction

Situated in a fertile valley, close to the Riviersonderend River, and almost entirely surrounded by mountains, Genadendal (originally Baviaanskloof) lies about eighteen miles north-east of Caledon.

The Moravian Mission at Baviaanskloof, established by George Schmidt in 1736, was abandoned in 1743 after much opposition from the Reformed clergy at the Cape (Douglas 676; Kotzé 62). Schmidt left the colony soon afterwards, never to return (Bredekamp 15). On 3 December 1791 the Dutch East India Company granted permission for three missionaries of the United Brethren (Unitas Fratrum) to travel to the Cape colony and to return to Schmidt's settlement (Cory 2:407). Subsequently, the unmarried trio, Hendrik Marsveld, Johann Daniel Schwinn, and Johann Christian Kühnel arrived in Cape Town in November 1792 and, on 25 March 1793, reached Baviaanskloof, the land their brother had deserted (Bredekamp 85). By the end of that year the congregation numbered sixteen people.

Labour, the Garden, and the Wilderness.

The Genadendal Diaries (1792-1794), translated from their original German, record the early development of the Baviaanskloof mission by the Herrnhut Missionaries. In the spirit of the last decade of the eighteenth century, these diaries were more or less compulsory reports made to the central executive authority of the United Brethren in Europe of the progress being made at the Cape. It was considered one of the missionaries' duties to maintain a daily record of their progress (Bredekamp 6).

Generally, the entries give details of both their secular activity and their spiritual progress at the mission. A postscript in the diary at one point illustrates that, in addition to the pastoral care of the people, great importance was attached to labour, although there was little time remaining in which to keep a diary:

Our dear brethren will say: The diary is much too brief. It is not detailed enough. It should tell us more of what these people say. But...we have so much work that often we do not know what to do first. Apart from nine o'clock at night little time remains for writing. Most of this is written at night. When one has worked hard in this great heat and under this hot sun and finally gets to sit down in the evening it takes much effort to write. (Bredekamp 167)

Even if Marsveld had no time to write details, other people visited the Mission, noting the "tacit manna of the Almighty" upon the land (Robinson 119), and revealing their divergent points of view in the journals and letters which they wrote.

Lieutenant James Ewart (c.1791-1823), of the 93rd Regiment, visited the mission towards the end of 1811, a few months after William Burchell (1781-1863) had

set out on his expedition (Ewart 1, Krüger 2:105). Although the name of Baviaanskloof had been changed to Genadendal (Dale of Grace) in 1805, Ewart called it "Bavians Klooft" ^{so it} and continued to be called for some years.

When the twenty-year-old lieutenant rode into the valley from the south, the missionaries had laboured for almost eighteen years, and the Hottentot population had grown. Ewart identified those elements which confirmed to him the Englishness of the settlement: neat cottages, lofty oak trees, a church capable of holding seven hundred souls, and a small water mill:

On the north side of this valey, [sic] on a kind of natural terrace, formed in an opening of the highest ridge of mountains called Bavians Klooft, stand the cottages of the missionaries, built, though of rude materials, with the greatest neatness, and surrounded with lofty oaks which defend them from the scorching rays of the summer sun. (Ewart 64).

Lisinka Cozens visited Genadendal in November 1829. No doubt she would have read Latrobe's account of Genadendal, published in 1818, before she accompanied Lady Frances Cole on their tour. What makes Lisinka's account special is the fact that it represents the first break in her established convention of terse journal entries. Like James Ewart, Lisinka identified those aspects of Genadendal which reminded her of England, separating them carefully from those which did not:

Our approach to the little Village was thro' a narrow green lane which looked so perfectly English, that I could have fancied myself at home, but for the fine Mountains, which backed this English Scenery, and reminded me where I was.¹

Whilst part of Lisinka's activity of writing fuller journal entries at this point of her travels may be attributed to the simple fact that she had more time in which to write, and fresh experiences to record; apart from the everyday social life of the Governor's household, a great part may also be attributed to her identification with the civilizing processes evident in Genadendal and their relationship with everything that she considered truly English.

More important, however, is the fact that Lisinka found her voice on this "tour" as a social person, as someone independent of the Coles with whom she had lived more than four years of her life. Up until then her life had been subsumed under the Coles' affairs and, even later on in her journal, she takes the smallest space available for her personal references. Lisinka seems to have taken upon herself the Coles' destiny and, short of her return home to England prior to the Coles, marriage would have represented the only other opportunity for her removal from this position - Lisinka had little else for which to hope.

Sophia Pigot, whose Journal of 1819-1821 records a similar life, in England and the Eastern colony of South Africa, to that of Lisinka's ten years later, records personal references and secrets in code (Rainier 26, 124-25). For example, in June 1820, she recorded in code that the Hottentots were all "[Code: naked]" (Rainier 63). The prospect of her marriage, to Lt. Donald Moodie, which took place in March 1824, made Miss Pigot "exceedingly unhappy", yet Lisinka experienced similarly bitter disappointment when the prospect for fulfilling her "earthly hopes" faded early in 1832.

Sophia Moodie's (née Pigot) Journal provides us with a view of a young woman's life in the Eastern Cape, within a few years of Lisinka's journal of her life in the South Western Cape. As records of single women's lives (Pigot married in 1824), these two early nineteenth-century journals take their places between the letters and journal of Lady Anne Barnard (written 1793-1803), and the letters of Lady Duff Gordon (written 1861-1862). Both Barnard and Gordon were married; Lisinka was a spinster. As an eye-witness of events in the Governor's household, Lisinka's contribution fills a gap, both in time and in perspective, of early Cape colonial life.

During her visit to Genadendal, Lisinka took a solitary walk which, whilst regarded as suitable recreation for a woman, was an assertive move because it was sharply contrasted with the other gendered activities continuing around her:

The Gentlemen went to ride - Fanny & Mrs Dundas and the Children were employed in arranging dried plants &c &c and I took a solitary walk up the Glen at the back of the little Hamlet.²

Lisinka linked the "glen" with the "little hamlet" in her journal entry. Not only were they a unit but they also formed part of the essential English nature of the place - an English association which travellers were delighted to encounter after the dry and barren territory around the mission:

Little do I now wonder at the rapture, with which this place is spoken of by travellers, who, after traversing a dreary, uncultivated country, without a tree to screen them from the scorching rays of the sun, find themselves transported into a situation, by nature the most barren and wild, but now rendered fruitful and inviting, by the persevering diligence and energy of a few plain, pious, sensible, and judicious men, who came hither, not seeking their own profit, but that of the most despised of nations; and while they directed their own and their hearers' hearts to the dwellings of bliss and glory above, taught them those things, which have made even their earthly dwelling, comparatively, a kind of paradise, and changed filth and misery into comfort and peace. (Latrobe 59)

This quotation from Rev. Latrobe's journal explains how Lisinka was able to break her silence when she saw Genadendal. The passage is written in the language of colonial discourse, and all the points about cultivation, civilization, and paradise are inscribed there already (Coetzee 49). Latrobe reveals his belief in labour as an ennobling duty necessary for the transformation of a wilderness into a paradise. For Latrobe the wilderness was a desert until, proscribed by the ploughshear and diligent labour, a promised land ("paradise") emerged.

More importantly for Ewart, however, these elements of Englishness represented a stage in the growth of the mission station out of a primitive wilderness

into a prosperous garden. Ewart ascribed relative states of civilization to the Hottentots' homes:

From this spot to the distance of a quarter of a mile down the valley, the ground is cover'd with the habitations of the Hottentots, varying progressively from neat little cottages of two or three apartments, belonging to the first settlers, to the straw built huts of those just emerging from a state of nature. Each hut has a small garden attached to it filled with fruit trees, particularly the peach and apricots [sic], of both which fruits the Hottentots are very fond, drying quantities for winter use.(Ewart 65)

His conclusions demonstrate the spirit of enquiry of the time - an age when increasing attention was being given to progress, development, science and history. Signs of progress out of a "state of nature" towards western customs were interpreted as the marks of enlightenment and civilization of the people. The debate concerning the Hottentots, in colonial discourse, centred around the stage of civilization thought expedient for them, in effect, "developing" them from heathen slaves to Christian servants (Bird 349-50). Bird described the Hottentots as "shepherds", "ox-herds", and "wandering heathen" who, he said, "are so absolutely required in the colony, that the greatest distress to the community would follow, were this class entirely domesticated" (67-8).

Lady Anne Barnard noted that the missionaries worked in danger of their lives because "the boors [sic] ... were angry at [the Moravians] having come amongst them to teach the others how to be industrious and independent ... they did not care whether they were enlightened or not, provided they were kept poor, lazy, and subordinate" (Robinson 122). There was a good reason for this attitude. Elphick points out that by "the beginning of the nineteenth century it had become obvious to travellers that the spread of Christianity had been inhibited by the colonist's knowledge that they could not sell their Christian slaves, and by fears that they might lose them altogether" (191).

Generally, however, journals and letters of this time interpret the nakedness of the Hottentots as indicative of their wild state. Rev. Latrobe, who visited Genadendal in 1816, met a Hottentot captain who needed clothing, and succeeded in making of the man a ridiculously absurd caricature of himself:

He did not look much like a man in office, wore a very shabby jacket, and had neither shoes nor stockings. Brother Bonatz informed me that he was very poor; and having brought a parcel of old clothes with me, to distribute among the poor, I presented him with a scarlet jacket, given me by a Bristol volunteer, which ... I told him was his. He strutted off with it, to the admiration of many passengers on the road, who stood in surprise at the contrast between the upper part of his attire, and the state of his legs and feet. (Latrobe 83).

Rev. Latrobe assumed that, because the captain was now half-dressed he was also half-civilized, or "semi-civilized" - the term used by Irons in The Settler's Guide (25). Lisinka accepted the stereotypes of colonial discourse: the Hottentots were "primitive", their speech was "ugly"; and their ways "wild", however, she noted in her journal that she was "much pleased by the comfortable & neat appearance of most of the Huts, and their inmates, who were neatly clothed."³ Mr Hallbeck, whom Lisinka regarded as "the only gentleman in the Society", took their party to meet some of the old Hottentot women "in order [to] hear the genuine Hottentot language which is very nearly extinct; the sounds were as ugly as the lips from whence they came".⁴

However, these same lips could produce the most wonderful sounds when singing the hymns taught them by the Moravian missionaries, again illustrating the concept of progress towards civilization. Lisinka wrote:

Whilst we were at dinner, we were surprised by the sound of Singing at the door of the room, and were told that it was the custom of the Hottentots to welcome Strangers in that manner - they sung well & in parts, and there were two or three very beautiful & powerful voices amongst the invisible Group.⁵

Whilst she perceived the Hottentots as ugly people, Lisinka found the singing of the "invisible group" beautiful, responding to the parts in which they sang ^{and} the few beautiful voices which she heard. Eighteen years before, James Ewart had discovered "a certain plaintive wildness" in the girls' voices when he heard them singing hymns (Ewart 66). The perceptions of these listeners were different: Ewart perceived the wildness in the apparently civilized; Cozens perceived the civilized in the apparently wild.

The process of civilizing and converting the Hottentots had been well under way when Lady Anne Barnard visited the mission at Baviaanskloof in May 1798. The three missionaries had laboured five years already, although Lady Anne found their garden lacking some plants which she considered necessary for civilization:

The first thing I did was to visit the garden, with which I was greatly pleased, but there were many things wanting in it which I hoped to be able to supply them with from seeds with good effect. (Robinson 125)

Lady Anne Barnard described her first impressions of Baviaanskloof, identifying a series of marks of civilization which she observed: "Then at a distance we saw the humble mansion of the Fathers. Each step we took we now found a bit of grass or a few cattle. a craal [sic] or hut, a cornfield, a little garden interrupted by heath ... I need not tell any one of you what sort of sensations it conveyed - it was the tacit manna of the Almighty showered down on his children" (Robinson 119).

Her use of the Biblically evocative words "tacit manna of the Almighty" is important. In the process of proselytization of Baviaanskloof, of its creation as a garden, Lady Anne Barnard described the mission's locale in terms of the wilderness through which the children of Israel wandered on their way to their promised land. It is significant that the first missionaries, returning to the remains of Brother Schmidt's mission at Baviaanskloof on 24 December 1792, found near the ruins of his house, three trees - almond, apricot, and pear - which he had planted, and described the garden as being "like a wilderness" (Bredekamp 57-58).

J.M. Coetzee identifies this evocative word, "wilderness", as part of that which he calls the "Discourse of the Cape" (Coetzee 49). Such a wilderness signifies pre-creation, shrouded in the mists of what Coetzee describes as, "pre-Israelite demonology, where the wilderness ... was a realm over which God's sway did not extend" (Coetzee 49).

Rediscovered by the Moravian Brethren in 1792, this wilderness is one where nature has retaken Eden, and the almond, apricot, and pear trees, representative of the Garden entrusted to Adam, have been overgrown as God's presence has been withdrawn. The fruit trees symbolized for the missionaries both the process of civilization and the presence of God in a godless area. Perceiving themselves to be keepers of this garden in the wilderness they believed the injunction of Genesis Ch. 2:

And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden to dress it and to keep it. (Thompson)

The activity of "dressing" the garden was perceived as holy work; therefore, the overgrown state of the wilderness was regarded as ^{being as} much due to the withdrawal of God's presence as to the loss of holy labourers. Homiletic literature of the nineteenth century strongly reinforced this viewpoint:

Every Son of Adam is bound to some employment or other in a particular calling ... If God have called you, as He called Adam, to till the ground, let your weedless field give evidence that Industry has holden the plough and the hoe in her hands. If He have called you to ply the instruments of the artizan, let your shop be musical the livelong day with the clicking of your tools. If He have called you to the pursuit of your trade, let your well-arranged commodities and punctual fulfilments testify that you are not slothful in business ... If He have called you to the wifely duties of the matron, look well to the ways of thy household, and eat not the bread of idleness. Take care lest thy garden degenerate into the sluggard's field, grown up with nettles, covered with brambles, breached with broken walls, poverty prowling around thy dwelling, thy

wants leaping upon thee as armed men (Prov. xxiv. 30-34).(Exell 156-8)

The wilderness into which the three returning missionaries stumbled in the heat of that late December in 1792 was a degenerative garden; the broken walls of Brother Schmidt's house illustrative of a sluggard's property - the wages of sloth.

The concept of a "degenerative garden in the wilderness" provided within itself the possibility of renewal. This wilderness was representative of a barbarian culture which, through proselytization, would labour in the creation of a "civilized" society. The missionaries work was to civilize the barbarian; their reward was the barbarian's conversion to Christianity - "Laborare est Orare".

Contrasted with this understanding of the wilderness as a degenerate garden is that of the wilderness as an uncorrupted, natural wildness into which a person may retreat for "contemplation and purification" (Coetzee 49). Coetzee identifies the former with British colonialism; the latter with Calvinist theology (49).

The difference between these perceptions was the understanding of the "garden" as opposed to the "wilderness". In the Cape colony, the wilderness was outside the garden, separated from the settlement in Cape Town by a border which kept the barbarians out and the civilized within. Small missionary enclaves, like "gardens", set up in the midst of the barbarian culture, i.e. the wilderness, were saved from the possibility of degeneration by labour. The threat from without always remained barbarian idleness. As Coetzee illustrates, any identification of idleness in the population, regarded as "barbarian", reinforced the belief in the Christian work ethic. The motivation for Christian labour was the heathen's torpor.

In Britain, on the other hand, industrialization and the regimen of order it imposed, at the same time swallowing up the countryside in vast chunks and alienating the inhabitants, meant that a new ideological alternative had to be found. The retreat was thus into a figurative wilderness from the degenerative or industrialized garden. In such a retreat work could be encouraged in order to achieve purification and salvation. At the same time, in the industrial world, labour became politicized.

The parks and gardens of England had, until the early nineteenth century, followed a natural landscape, with vast areas of trees and avenues forming extensions of garden paths and driveways. With the rapid industrialization of the cities, however, the countryside was swallowed rapidly by industry. Natural beauty was reduced. Small city gardens began to be cultivated as a protest against the intrusion of the "modern" world.

Gardens differed widely in popular styles. For example, there were the "floral museum" gardens, featuring specimens gathered from near and abroad; and Gothic gardens, with their integrated "follies" and statues. What was important was that each successive style moved further from the garden as a work of art and closer to the garden as a wilderness. As the age of machinery imposed order, so the disorder of gardens offered retreats from that industrial world which was perceived to be destroying nature.

In such a world the evocative ruins of a "folly" with all its Gothic power, represented not the fall from Christianity into idleness that Brother Schmidt's cottage had indicated, but rather the regeneration of God's natural order within the man-made, i.e. sinful, ugliness and order.

Towards the end of Hard Times, Dickens contrasts the "peace" of the countryside with the industrial activity of Coketown. There is a clear image of nature triumphant contrasted with the decaying symbols of machinery:

In the distance one way, Coketown showed as a black mist; in another distance, hills began to rise; in a third, there was a faint change in the light of the horizon, where it shone upon the far-off sea. Under their feet, the grass was fresh; beautiful shadows of branches flickered upon it, and speckled it; hedgerows were luxuriant; everything was at peace. Engines at pits' mouths, and lean old horses that had worn the circle of their daily labour into the ground, were alike quiet; wheels had ceased for a short space to turn; and the great wheel of earth seemed to revolve without the shocks and noises of another time. (Dickens 283)

It was to these "noises of another time" that the population retreated, whether it was to their homely "wildernesses" or to the countryside: "English verdure, English culture, English comfort, seen under a sun bright, without being oppressive" (Austen 355). Johnson points out that picnics, representing a return to the countryside, were "a Gothic fancy" of the early nineteenth century (281). In English cities and towns, gardens were a retreat from the unnatural industrial world.

At the same time, the world of industry tended to be a male dominated one, which denied women entry. The gendering of gardening activities was an interesting development. Whilst the garden was the woman's domain, even being considered a suitable subject for her art, working in it - digging, planting, weeding, and so on - was not considered feminine. The presence of male gardeners was permitted because men were able to study plants scientifically or perform the heavy physical labour required. Botany thus became a suitable science for men, like William John Burchell, and Charles Robert Darwin (1809-1882), to study.

When they travelled overseas, colonists invariably created gardens and transported indigenous British plants to their new homeland to make them feel at home, even if the choice of plant were not suited to the climate. At Cambrai, in 1815, Lady Frances Cole had supervised the laying-out of a garden and, in 1823, when she travelled to Mauritius, her gardeners accompanied her. Lady Frances Cole's "gardening book" survives full of the names of the roses she had planted there, although many specimens perished on the long voyage out from England, and her gardener nearly drowned when his ship was wrecked at Algoa Bay.⁶

Sir Lowry Cole himself encouraged the improvement of the botanical garden at Port Louis and a request was made in October 1824 for a gardener to be sent out for its care. The gardener selected, a Mr Newman, arrived in Mauritius early in February 1826.⁷ The cult of gardens was certainly well established by the late 1820s and although their designs varied, they served their purpose within the ideological confines of their age (Johnson 282-83).

Lt. James Ewart encountered a natural garden in 1816. He felt such a welcome guest at Genadendal that he stayed an extra day, part of which he spent walking up the valley behind the mission station, alongside the small stream that supplies the village with water. His description of the natural beauty he found is composed beautifully:

Having reached nearly the head of the valley, following the course of the rivulet we were led by it to our right round a projecting part of the mountain, which we had no sooner cleared, than we found ourselves in an immense chasm in its rugged sides, which presented to our astonished sight, a scene the most awfully grand and sublime I had ever witnessed. Where we stood, the water (tumbling in numberless cascades from the summit of the chasm) had form'd a large and deep pool, from which the mountain rose on each side almost perpendicularly in masses of bare and rugged rock, to the height of several hundred feet, excluding half the light of day, and casting a sombre shade on surrounding objects, whilst not a living creature appeared to disturb the universal silence which prevailed, here might be truly said. [sic]

Black melancholy sits, and round her throws

A deathlike silence, and a dread repose. (Ewart 67-68)

Ewart interprets the immense chasm in terms of the awe which it inspired. He comments upon the "universal silence which prevailed" and the "sombre shade on surrounding objects", linking them respectively with "a deathlike silence" and "black melancholy". For Ewart, this scene is that of looking upon a godless Eden: it possesses the qualities of an idyllic garden but it cannot be a garden because the hand of man has not been inscribed upon it. Clearly there is water; there are plants, although they grow in darkness; but "not a living creature" stirs. Whilst this chasm was not a wilderness, it presented to Ewart a sombre contrast with the little garden enclave at Genadendal.

Rev. Christian Latrobe (1758-1820), a Moravian himself, was fifty-seven when he visited Genadendal on 12 January 1816. He appears to have remained there for a month during which he also found time to climb the far end of the valley to the pool

that James Ewart had discovered with his friends. In a less emotional description, Latrobe writes:

A broad path, made by wood-cutters, afforded a convenient passage into the kloof. The eastern sun shone with great brightness into it, gilding the banks on both sides. They rise steep to a considerable height, and are clothed with a romantic wood of every species of tree growing in the country, innumerable flowering plants and shrubs covering the ground. Here and there, masses of rock peep through the surrounding foliage. The rivulet rushes rapidly through the shady grove, over a stony bed, and we followed its course to a place where it forms a deep pool under a perpendicular rock. (Latrobe 163)

The woodcutters of Genadendal had provided a "broad path" which Latrobe followed. James Ewart and his friends had not seen it in 1811, or perhaps the path was created subsequently; however, Ewart followed the course of the rivulet - a natural route into the chasm; Latrobe followed the broad path - created by the woodcutters, i.e. labour had appropriated the place for civilization.

Lisinka attempted to follow the same route taken by her predecessors. Both Lt. Ewart and the Rev. Latrobe had walked there with company; Lisinka, on the other hand, tackled the route quite alone: "I took a solitary walk". At first appearance, we may suspect that Lisinka did not walk as far as the chasm or see the deep mountain pool:

My progress however was soon stopped by such enormous rocks, that I knew not how to get across them - so I retraced my steps.⁸

The physical obstacles which halted Lisinka's progress are presented dispassionately: she records neither her thoughts nor her fears. It is from James Ewart's Journal, however, that we realize how far Lisinka really managed to progress on her own:

On attempting to proceed up the chasm we found it so narrow, and blocked up with huge fragments of rock and thick brushwood, that it

was with difficulty we advanced a few hundred paces where we seated ourselves, wholly [sic] taken up in admiring the bold and romantic scenery around us, until our watches reminded us that it was time to return to the early dinner of our hosts.(Ewart 68)

If we compare the two accounts it is quite clear that Lisinka achieved more than she was prepared to admit ^{and} that she was deliberately silent concerning the existence of a path, a pool, or even the "romantic wood", all of which she would have had to pass to reach the "enormous rocks" which stopped her progress. Neither Lady Frances Cole nor the children would have been told of her discovery and, certainly, her journal would not reveal her secret. Rainier has written about the importance of checking journals against other independent records and fuller accounts (103). In this way, Ewart's Journal provides the clue to understanding Lisinka's solitary walk at Genadendal.

Lady Duff Gordon also took fearless walks in the country, but these would be undertaken thirty years later. Her attitude towards the Hottentots would be very different from Lisinka's, who had found the new Hottentots' huts "wretched" and their clothing "shabby".

Lisinka Cozens' record of her visit to Genadendal adds to the narrative records of visitors to the interior of the Cape colony in the early nineteenth century. Many visitors, missionaries and explorers followed the colonial-tour route. It was a showpiece of successful missionary labour among the inhabitants; a zoological garden of successfully and partially civilized people.

For Lisinka, as well as the many other colonial visitors to Genadendal, the missionary village was a compelling microcosm of the processes of civilization. In each description of the settlement - Barnard's, Ewart's, Duff Gordon's, Latrobe's, Lisinka's, and so on - we find elements of self-aggrandizement.

Genadendal signified more than a yardstick against which a visitor's self-perception of their civilized state could be measured; it also justified their presence in Africa. The colonists and the missionaries could excuse their presence if they laboured for the civilization of the local population.

In a sense, Lisinka experienced colonial self-aggrandizement, identifying herself as the finished product of a process of civilization, evidenced by her keen perception of the relative stages of civilization reached by the local Hottentots. In another sense, however, Lisinka used the language of colonial discourse because there was no other language at the time for her to appropriate for herself and she did not have the freedom of identity from the Coles or, for that matter, the ability, to invent a new language for herself. Where Lisinka encountered things outside of colonial discourse - the chasm and pool, for example - she remained silent. (Where she was silent in her journal, Sophia Pigot would have written in code.) It was Lisinka's private experience of the wilderness in Africa. She did not view herself as a British settler, therefore she had no need to justify her position at Genadendal or in Africa. Her experience of the chasm and pool was, as part of her calvinistic theology, a natural wilderness to which she could retreat for contemplation. As her journal fills the gap between Lady Anne Barnard's writing and Lady Duff Gordon's, Lisinka's journal also marks the last recorded acceptance of the wilderness as a natural garden of Eden. Colonial discourse had altered that viewpoint long before.

Even within colonial discourse there had been much criticism of the work of the missionaries. Lord Charles Somerset had ^{criticized} the Moravians indirectly, in 1817:

Every day fresh missionaries are arriving and though it would be unfair to impute any but the most zealous motives to those who undertake these labours, yet we cannot refuse to acknowledge that it is very problematical whether any benefit has yet derived from their exertions (the Moravians excepted) within the boundaries, while it is evident that the Colony has suffered materially from those establishments which have been set on foot beyond what are deemed the limits of this settlement. (Millar 93)

In the years after Lisinka's visit it becomes apparent that the Moravians' work was more seriously criticized. In 1835 the American missionary, Rev. George Champion (1810-1841), visited Genadendal. He was critical of the Moravians' methods

and questioned the kind of civilizing process in which they were engaged. He questioned also the motivation behind the Hottentots' labour:

The Hottentots are used as servants of the mission. The Hottentot may have his thatched cottage, his garden, & his pig, & that is all, he is not led to think that he can be anything, or accomplish anything. There are exceptions but the principle leads to this, & hence the Hottentot rises not in the scale of existence, & the mission seems to be raising itself into notice rather than holding forth motives to the people to exert themselves. (Champion 17).

Archbishop Merriman's Cape Journals record a similar view. Merriman, himself, was prepared to discuss his opinions freely with the Moravians:

It seemed plain to me, that other elements were required to make a community what it should become than those that Genadenthal [sic] afforded: a set of cottages, all exactly on a footing, watched over by a body of good men of another race, all as unlike themselves as could be, but just like each other, seemed to me to lack the elements which are necessary to train man for anything like an advanced social state. (Varley and Matthew 164).

Sir John and Lady Herschel visited Genadendal with Rev G. Withers, a friend from Calcutta, in October 1836. Although they found the mission interesting and some of the scenic spots romantic, they also admitted that:

The human folk must not come in for a share of our admiration, for the Dutch are lazy & unmannerly & the black people are very ugly - but there is a species of rough good nature among them, which renders intercourse tolerable. (Herschel 57).

Lady Herschel purchased one of the olive-wood boxes made by the Hottentots into which she placed some items of interest to send to her mother. In the letter, which she wrote to accompany these items, Lady Herschel reflects the little progress she

believed had been made in the process of civilization which was supposed to be occurring at Genadendal:

The frightful lock of hair, I cut myself off a hideous ugly Bush woman whose race is little superior to the monkey tribe in personal beauty. The copper rings are her bracelets which she also presented to me. (Herschel 57)

Sir John Franklin, the famous traveller, and his second wife visited Genadendal shortly after the Herschels (Herschel 125). They were determined to see as much as they could, in the limited time available to them, and took a tour by waggon through Franschoek to Genadendal towards the end of their stay. No record has been found of their impressions.

In January 1862 Lady Duff Gordon travelled the same road to Genadendal. There she was to meet "the last Hottentot" - a man of over one hundred years of age. In her journal we discover the sense of guilt she felt when he was brought to her "like a wild beast". Subsequently, in her identification of her own feelings of tyranny and oppressiveness, we perhaps finally have a truthful appraisal of the real processes which had been continuing at Genadendal since 1792:

I looked on the little, wizened, yellow face, and was shocked that he should be dragged up like a wild beast to be stared at. A feeling of pity which felt like remorse fell upon me, and my eyes filled as I rose and stood before him, so tall and like a tyrant and oppressor, while he uncovered his poor little old snow-white head, and peered up in my face. I led him to the seat, and helped him to sit down, and said in Dutch, 'Father, I hope you are not tired; you are old.' (Gordon 87)

After seventy years of evangelism in Africa it appears that Lady Duff Gordon's words were the first recorded to be spoken with kindness. Lisinka had rejected the sounds of their language as being "ugly", forgetting that, in the process of "civilization", the Hottentots were learning Dutch and English. Lady Duff Gordon was told the reason for her popularity "with the coloured people" was because:

I spoke to him just as to a white gentleman, and did not 'laugh and talk nonsense talk' ... The English, when they mean to be good-natured, are generally offensively familiar ... the [blacks] feel it the greatest compliment to be treated au sérieux, and spoken to in good English. (Purves 67)

One cannot help but feel that Lisinka would have understood Lady Duff Gordon's approach because she, too, had been an independent observer and visitor at the Cape of Good Hope.

Notes

- 1 Elizabeth Cozens, journal: 17 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/122.
- 2 Elizabeth Cozens, journal: 18 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/122.
- 3 Elizabeth Cozens, journal: 18 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/122.
- 4 cf. Coetzee 12-18.
- 5 Elizabeth Cozens, journal: 18 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/122.
- 6 Lady Frances Cole, gardening book, PRO 30/43/120.
- 7 Sir Lowry Cole, letters to W. Horton, 6 Oct. 1824; 10 Feb. 1826, PRO 30/43/86.
- 8 Elizabeth Cozens, journal: 18 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/122.

The Journal of Elizabeth Cozens

The Journal - 1829

At the time of Lisinka's first entries in her journal, Sir Lowry was absent on his first tour of the colony. He had written to Lady Frances of his party's arrival in Cradock: "We were received with a great appearance of pleasure by the Inhabitants, who had never had the honor [sic] of a Governor's visit before".¹ Major Dundas, then military secretary, accompanied him on his tour, but became very ill and slowed their progress; also with them was Baron Düring, aide-de-camp, of whom Sir Lowry wrote: "[He] looks very old, as I do myself; but he is older in habits than I am and is slower and more methodical than ever and not very useful on a journey".²

Early in November Lady Frances and Lisinka prepared for, what Lisinka called, their "second tour" which, strictly speaking, was the conclusion of Sir Lowry's first tour of the Colony.

It was his intention that his family should meet him at Genadendal but, upon his reaching the place and finding his family yet to arrive, he had hurried on to meet them. A full discussion of Lisinka's journey to Genadendal is included in chapter six.

Their return journey took the Coles through Caledon and across the Houw-Hoek Pass. The new mountain road over the Hottentots' Holland Kloof was nearly two thirds complete at the time Sir Lowry showed it to his family. (It was later known as "Sir Lowry's Pass".) Work on it commenced in January 1829 and it was opened to the public seven months after their tour, on 6 July 1830.

Sir Lowry Cole had not obtained the necessary authorisation from England for such expenditure and, subsequently, he was censured by Lord Goderich. To this reprimand Sir Lowry replied:

I deserved censure for not previously asking permission to do so. Having however convinced my own mind of its public utility, and ascertained by personal inspection its practicability at an expense I considered inconsiderable, as regards its public advantages, I cannot, however I may wince at the censure I received, regret having taken this step.³

When they returned to Cape Town, Lisinka's tour had lasted nine days. Sir Lowry had been absent for three months. Two days afterwards the Government Gazette published an advertisement through which Sir Lowry conveyed his:

Thanks and general approbation ... the Field Cornets of this Colony are charged with the execution of Duties so various, so important, and so essential to the best interests of the People, as well as of the Government itself, that His Excellency embraces with great pleasure this opportunity of making them the only return in his power for their most valuable Services; - He begs they will receive his most cordial thanks and warmest approval of their Conduct.⁴

Lisinka also recorded in her journal the hard work done by the several Field Cornets who drove their wagon ten-in-hand, and collected flowers for Lady Frances and herself "without stopping the waggon".

The visit to Genadendal may have inspired both Lady Frances and Lisinka, because the School of Industry, "for the Instruction in Reading and Needlework of Female Children",⁵ was established by them in December. Sixty children were admitted at its commencement.

Also under the direction and patronage of Lady Frances Cole, a Sunday School was opened in Cape Town on Sunday 6 December 1829.⁶ The children's instruction was superintended by a roster of ladies who attended the School in rotation. Lady Frances Cole and

Lisinka both participated in this activity so that, in 1833, the Cape Almanack could report:

Her Ladyship's exertions in behalf of this and similar Establishments, are not confined to mere Patronage. Hers is Active Benevolence. And fully understanding the value and force of Example, Lady Frances makes frequent personal visits to the School, encouraging the Children by her notice, and inculcating the importance of religious, moral, and industrious habits to their future success in this life, and their happiness in that which is to come.⁷

An Infant School was founded by Mr D.D. Buchanan, on 16 January 1830 (Immelman 167).

The performance of a play of Sheridan's, by a Mr Booth, drew a full house at the theatre on 9 November 1829. Lisinka found the performance "tolerable" and, when Mr Booth performed Othello a month later, she declined to attend.⁸

The theatre, on Hottentots' (now Riebeeck) Square, had opened in 1801, and still stands today. Lady Anne Barnard had been sceptical about this building scheme before it was executed:

There is a new scheme with which the governor⁹ is bit and which ... will probably fall to the ground from its not being on a well-Judgd [sic] plan - 'tis a Theatre - all boxes - no pit ... which by estimate ... would cost 2500£ [sic].(Robinson 252)

The theatre provided an important venue not only for theatrical and musical events, but also for socializing.

Lisinka's journal, however, closes the year with a tragic event. Just a few days after Christmas they "heard of the dangerous illness of Mrs Menzie's child".¹⁰ Within twenty-four hours the little boy was dead and Lisinka felt prompted to move to Sans Souci, the home of the Menzies in Rondebosch, to assist and comfort Anne Menzies. Lisinka remained there until the 7 January 1830, when she joined the Coles at

Government House. The Coles' girls probably remained at Liesbeek Cottage in the care of Lady Catherine Bell while Lisinka was away.

At this point we must turn to Lisinka's own journal in order to take up the threads of, what must remain always, a "continuation of Lisinka's journal".

Notes

- 1 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lady Frances, 20 Oct. 1829 (Cole and Gwynn 239).
- 2 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lady Frances, 28 Oct. 1829 (Cole and Gwynn 241).
- 3 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 4 Apr. 1831 (Cole and Gwynn 243).
- 4 Cape of Good Hope Gazette Friday 27 Nov. 1829.
- 5 Cape Almanack 1833.
- 6 Cape Almanack 1833.
- 7 Cape Almanack 1833.
- 8 Othello was performed on 9 Dec. 1829.
- 9 i.e. Sir George Yonge, Fifth Baronet (1731-1812).
- 10 Lady Frances Cole, journal, 27 Dec. 1829, PRO 30/43/114.

[P2]
October

Thursday 22nd The Fitzroys¹, the Bells, the Menzies, Col. Fane,² Captn Cappage and Mr Blake and Captain Greville³ dined at Govt House⁴ also Mr & Mrs Stoll,⁵ and Mr Blair.⁶

Friday 23rd The Admiral⁷ went away.

Saturday 24th The Beardons went to Simon's Town to go on board the Java⁸. The Bells, Col. Arbuthnot,⁹ Mr Hayward, and Monr de Lottres¹⁰ dined here to meet Madame & Madelle Hemart and Madelle des Bassayns, arrived here on their way to Bourbon.¹¹

Sunday 25th The French Ladies came here to hear the Band. Captain Greville dined with us.

- 1 Charles Augustus Fitzroy and his wife, Mary (née Lennox), arrived at the Cape in 1824. As Captain, he was appointed military secretary. He also was editor of the Cape Town Gazette, and wine-taster. Captain Fitzroy was later promoted to lieutenant-colonel and deputy adjutant-general. The Fitzroys returned to England in 1831. (Krüger 238)
- 2 Lt-Col. Mildmay Fane, 98th Regt. (Cape Almanack 1829)
- 3 Captain Greville, of H.M. Ship Espoir, stationed at the Cape from 1829 until 1830. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Mar. 1830; Cape Almanack 1830)
- 4 Government House was situated in the Company's Garden.
- 5 Mr Joachim Wilhelmus Stoll (1786-1834) was appointed Treasurer and Auditor-General in 1828. He was also the President of the Orphan House, and a member of the Council of the South African College (founded 1 Sept. 1829). His wife was Catharina Charlotta (née Liesching). (Kruger 3:762; Cape Almanack 1830)
- 6 Mr & Mrs Henry Blair, Misses Augusta and Emma Blair, together with a female servant, had arrived in Simon's Bay on board the Hon. Company's Chartered Ship, Orient, in Aug. 1823. (Gazette 23 Aug. 1823)
- 7 Rear-Admiral Gage of H.M. Ship Java. (South African Commercial Advertiser 21 Oct. 1829)
- 8 "The Admiral left us for Simon's Town." (Lady Frances Cole, journal, 23 Oct. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
 H.M. Ship Java, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral Gage, arrived in Simon's Bay on 14 Oct. She had sailed from Mauritius on 25 Sept. and sailed for England on 25 Oct. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Oct.; Gazette 23 Oct. 1829)
- 9 Lt-Col. C.G.J. Arbuthnot had arrived at the Cape on board the Coldstream, along with twelve officers and 275 rank and file of the 72nd Highlanders on 29 Sept. 1828. The ship had sailed from the Downs on 5 July. (Cape Almanack 1830; South African Commercial Advertiser 3 Oct. 1828)
- 10 Monsieur F. de Lettres was the French Consul. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 11 The French ship, Le Courier de St Paul, arrived in Table Bay on 21 Oct., having left Nantz on 13 Aug., with Mrs and Miss Hemart and Miss Debassayns on board. (South African Commercial Advertiser 24 Oct. 1829; Gazette 23 Oct. 1829)

Monday 26th

Tuesday 27th Dr & Mrs Murray,¹² Baron Lorentz,¹³ the Bells, Mr Henry Cloete¹⁴ & Major Cloete dined here to meet the French Ladies, who did not come, Madelle des Bassayns being ill.

Wednesday 28th

Thursday 29th We received news from the Frontier.¹⁵ Major Dundas¹⁶ was better but not well enough to come on with the Govr.¹⁷ The Bells, Col. & Mrs Smith¹⁸ & Col. Arbuthnot dined at Govt House.

Friday 30th Many Vessels came in - amongst the rest the Ellen¹⁹ from England which she left 8th August.

12 Dr John Murray M.D., Surgeon to the Forces (Cape Almanack 1829).

13 Baron Charles George de Lorentz Esq., Superintendent of Police and Trustee of Town property (Cape Almanack 1829).

14 Henry Cloete (1792-1870) obtained his doctorate in law at Leiden University in 1811, returning in 1813 to the Cape where he practised as an advocate. He married Helen Christina (née Graham) in 1816. She could not attend that Tuesday's social gathering because she was 14 days away from giving birth to a little boy (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Nov. 1829).

15 "Heard from Lowry from Graham's Town - Majr. Dundas too unwell to continue the journey with them." (Lady Frances Cole, journal 29 Oct. 1829, PRO 30/43/114).
Newsletters from the Frontier informed them that Gaika, the Xhosa chief, was very ill. He died later in 1829. Bushmen were reported to have attacked several farmers' houses and a commando had been sent out in pursuit of the aggressors (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Oct. 1829).

16 Major William Bolden Dundas (1785-1858) lost his left arm in the Napoleonic Wars (1812); came to the Cape in 1822 and became "landdrost" [magistrate] of the Albany district in 1825. By 1828 he had become the civil commissioner for Albany and Somerset, and he was military secretary to Sir Lowry Cole between 1829 and 1830. The Dundases left the Cape in 1830 (Krüger 345-46).

17 "Dundas is better - but still very weak. I hope he will go with me - but it is not certain. He has had a severe attack and although perfectly convalescent yet the strength which he has lost is not speedily recovered. He can walk but a very little distance and is quite incapable of much fatigue - but I and he and everyone here are anxious that he should travel with me if possible and any sacrifice I can make to accomplish this - or to bring him safely home I shall cheerfully make." Mr Justice Burton, letter to Hon. Mr Justice Menzies, 1 Nov. 1829 (Cape Government Archives A750).

18 Probably Brevet Lt-Col. G. Smith, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and his wife (Cape Almanack 1829). He was newly appointed to this post in 1829, when on 24 Mar. he arrived from Liverpool on board the Ontario (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Mar. 1829). In 1830 he was temporarily next in command to the Commander of the Forces, and a Member of the Governor's Council (Cape Almanack 1830).

19 The brig, Ellen arrived in Table Bay on 30 Oct. having sailed from Downs on 5 Aug. She brought a large mail.

Saturday 31st and, the Gilmore²⁰ bound to the Swan River²¹ having on board Mr Peel, cousin to the Minister.²²

November

Sunday 1st 1829 Mr Bowles²³ dined at Govt House.

Monday 2nd

Tuesday 3rd Mrs William Bird²⁴ and Caroline came. The Bells and Mr Hamilton²⁵ dined here.

Wednesday 4th Fanny²⁶, Mrs Bird and the two Gentlemen dined at Col. Bell's, to meet Mr Peel²⁷. I went there in the evening - the Guests were Col. & Mrs

-
- 20 The ship Gilmore arrived in Table Bay on 30 Oct., having left Plymouth on 10 Aug. She sailed for Swan River on 7 Nov. (Gazette 6 Nov. 1829; South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Nov. 1829)
- 21 Swan River was on the west coast of New Holland. (South African Commercial Advertiser 18 Nov. 1829)
- 22 Mr Peel, cousin of Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850). The latter had returned to office as Home Secretary and Leader of the House of Commons in 1828. He was to become Prime Minister in 1834. His cousin accompanied a group of settlers on board the Gilmore. (Lady Frances Cole, journal, 30 Oct. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 23 Mr Henry Bowles, son of Captain George Bowles who was present at Cambrai with his Regiment of guards after Waterloo. They were friends of the Robinson family. (Lady Frances, journal, 1 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114; Cole and Gwynn 186.)
- 24 Mrs Penelope Bird (née Wheler) was the second wife of Mr William Wilberforce Bird (1758-1836). They came to the Cape in 1807. William became a founder of The Philanthropic Society and was appointed comptroller of customs in 1810 which post he held until his death. From 1822 he was also an assessor in the court of appeal. (Krüger 1:77) Caroline was one of their eight daughters - probably the eldest. (Lady Frances, journal, 3 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 25 Mr K.B. Hamilton is listed as Colonial Aide-de-Camp for 1829. (Cape Almanack 1829)
- 26 i.e. Lady Frances Cole.
- 27 Although Miss Cozens makes no comment about Mr Peel, Frances Cole does: "Met ... Mr Peel who is going to the Swan River with 400 settlers and an immense Capital on Speculation. He appears a sensible well educated man with much coolness & perseverance. He has ... left his Wife in England to join him if & when he succeeds in establishing a home for her."

There is a sequel in her Diary headed "March 1832": "Mr Peel was very far from justifying the favourable impression he made on his arrival here - He failed entirely in his speculation, as much from his own misconduct, as from having connected himself with money lenders & two speculators in England; he misled the Artisans & Agriculturalists he took with him & so enraged them, that he was obliged to remain on board ship for his personal safety." (Journal, 4 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)

Daniel, Mr Peel & Mr Ebdon, Mr Wilberforce Bird, Mr Hamilton Ross²⁸,
Captain Greville & Capt. Bance.²⁹

Thursday 5th We took Mrs Bird to Wynberg.³⁰

Friday 6th We dined at Col. Bell's where we met Mrs Dundas and Captain Greville. The Exporter³¹ came in from England which she left the 29th August & brought a Mail.³²

Saturday 7th

Sunday 8th Mrs Dundas dined at Govt House.

Monday 9th Mrs William Bird came. We all went to the Theatre to witness the performance of Mr Booth³³ "from the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden" his acting and that of one or two Amateur performers was tolerable³⁴ - the House was very full. Mrs Henry Cloete was confined of a little Boy³⁵. The Charlotte Frances³⁶ arrived with letters from the Mauritius, and the Wheatley family³⁷.

[P3]

Tuesday 10th The Bells dined at Govt House.

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- 28 Mr Hamilton Ross (1775-1853) was a prominent merchant and a member of the Commercial Exchange. (Immelmann 51-52)
- 29 Lt James Bance was paid off from the Navy in 1825 and became the Port Captain of Table Bay. (Cape Almanack 1828-30)
- 30 The Birds lived in Cape Town and at "The Spring", Kenilworth. (Krüger 1:78) The Cape Almanack lists W. Bird as an inhabitant of the Village of Wynberg. Lady Frances writes: "Took Mrs Bird back to Wynberg in the afternoon." (Lady Frances, journal, 5 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 31 A bark, under the Captaincy of R. Anwyl, she had sailed from the Downs on 29 August for the Cape and Mauritius. She brought a large mail. (Gazette 13 Nov. 1829)
- 32 The Mail included "letters to the 23d Augt. & papers to the 26th." (Lady Frances, journal, 6 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 33 Mr Booth was "an actor from Covent Garden - going to Swan River on a Theatrical speculation." (Lady Frances, journal 9 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 34 The performance would have included Sheridan's play Pizarro, or The Death of Rolla; a comic song: The King and the Countryman; and a "new domestic nautical Melo-drama" called Black-Eyed Susan or All in the Downs. The entertainment was presented under the patronage of Lady Frances Cole. (South African Commercial Advertiser 4, 7 Nov. 1829)
- 35 Helen Christina Cloete's confinement was announced in the Press. (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Nov. 1829) In time she bore her husband fourteen children, four of whom died in infancy, and four of whom were daughters. (Krüger 1:171-73)
- 36 The Frances Charlotte, J. Talbert, had left Mauritius on 8 Oct. for the Cape and London. She carried passengers and mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Nov. 1829)
- 37 Mr & Mrs Wheatley and their two daughters were listed as passengers. They were "Indian visitors". (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Nov. 1829; Evans 77) Miss Charlotte Wheatley (1804-1888) married Mr Edward Judge, Professor of English, in 1830. (Krüger 3:459)

- Wednesday 11th Mrs William Bird went away³⁸.
- Thursday 12th We heard from the Frontier³⁹.
- Friday 13th
- Saturday 14th The Bells dined here; to take leave of us previous to our setting off on our second Tour.⁴⁰
- Sunday 15th The former party⁴¹ being again assembled with the exception of Jamesy⁴² & Dr Dyce,⁴³ we started as before in two Waggon, Mr Miller⁴⁴ & Mr MacKay⁴⁵ accompanying [sic] us on horseback. The weather was as favourable as we could possibly desire and continued so, the whole of our journey. We set off between six and seven & reached the Paarl about three having stopped once to outspan & eat some tiffin⁴⁶ which we did in a very pretty little wood. About a

- 38 "Drove to Wynberg to take back Mrs Bird & her children." (Lady Frances, journal 11 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 39 i.e. "Heard from Lowry from George" (Lady Frances, journal 12 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 40 The first "tour" had been a shorter one. The party had left Cape Town on 3 August 1829 and over six days had managed to visit Stellenbosch, Fransche Hoek, Paarl, Wagon-maker's Valley, and had returned via Pampoen's Kraal on 8 August. (Lady Frances, journal 3-8 Aug. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 41 The former party had consisted of: Sir Lowry and his Staff, Majors Dundas and Mitchell, Captain During, Frances Cole with her five elder children, Lisinka, Mrs Dundas, Mr Cooke, Dr Dyce, and Col. Arbuthnot. (Lady Frances, journal 3 Aug. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 42 i.e. James Henry Cole, who would turn eight on 15 December 1829. (James Cole, birth certificate, PRO 30/43/83)
- 43 Dr Robert Dyce M.D. had travelled out with the Coles from Mauritius, arriving in Simon's Bay on 7 Sept. 1828. (*Gazette* 12 Sept. 1828) He was made Assistant Surgeon to the Forces at the Cape, and Acting Vaccinating Surgeon, in charge of the General Hospital, and Leper Institution, on 13 Jan. 1829. (*South African Commercial Advertiser* 17 Jan. 1829; *Cape Almanack* 1830) He also was appointed to be on the Cape Staff of Sir Lowry Cole. (Lowry Cole, letter to Sir James McGregor, 6 Nov. 1828, PRO 30/43/97)
- 44 Mr Thomas Miller, acting clerk of the Council Office (*Cape Almanack* 1829) and Colonial Aide-de-Camp (*Cape Almanack* 1830) was part of Sir Lowry Cole's family party until an "indiscretion" caused Sir Lowry to dismiss him at the end of March 1830. (Lowry Cole, letter to T. Miller, 31 Mar. 1830, PRO 30/43/97)
- 45 Mr William McDonald MacKay (1769-c.1831) was appointed civil commissioner of the Cape district in Jan. 1828. During his career he was most attentive to local government. It was he who later brought a charge for libel against Dr Philip, attracting great interest. (Krüger 5:483)
- 46 "tiffin" - eating and/or drinking outside mealtimes (1785) - in England, what is called "luncheon" (1800/1867). (OED)

couple of miles from the Paarl we were met by our friend Mr de Villiers⁴⁷ and about twenty five Gentlemen who came to escort us into the Village, and we found the Band in readiness at Mrs Eyres. Col. Arbuthnot⁴⁸ was ready to receive us, having left Cape Town the day before.

Monday 16th We set off for the Fransch Hoek, taking the same road we had passed before in going from thence to the Paarl, but the view was finer in this direction & the weather shewed it off to greater advantage. We were heartily welcomed by our former Hosts, the Hugos, who gave us a most ample & substantial breakfast to which all the party did great justice.⁴⁹ We found Fanny's little God-daughter, Frances Madeline much grown & Mrs Hugo was made very happy by the present which was made her of a silver crest and chain. I have already described the road over the Fransch Hoek Mountain⁵⁰ as far as the summit, I need only say therefore that we saw it to much greater advantage from the clearness of the day - and that I passed all the narrow parts of the road without any uncomfortable sensation; but this time I was on the far side of the Waggon.⁵¹ Fanny walked up the greatest part of the way, & got into the Waggon when we began to descend, & when I got out of it, in order to have a better view of that part of the road, with which I was as yet unacquainted. The descent is very fine indeed - the road going along the edge of a very deep & precipitous ravine through which there was a stream of clear water - this is crossed twice by means of bridges of an immense height, and which are much admired for the skill with which they are constructed - the road winds frequently and sometimes so abruptly that the two first pair of horses in the waggon were often invisible before the rest of the vehicle could turn - the mountains on the opposite side which were [P4] thrown about in all sorts of directions, were devoid of verdure, but beautiful from the various colours of the stone, some being brown or reddish, & others of a light grey⁵² - the ravine itself was finely clothed with shrubs and flowers, which the Gentlemen were most assiduous in gathering for us, some even risking their necks in the cause.⁵³

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- 47 Mr J.N. de Villiers Esq., Justice of the Peace, and resident at the Paarl. (Cape Almanack 1829)
- 48 Lt-Col. C.G.J. Arbuthnot of the 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1829)
- 49 Mr D. Hugo was Field Cornet for the District of Groot Drakenstein. With his family travellers found good accommodation. (Evans 104) The Inns were not comfortable; travellers preferred to stay with families, for which they paid. D. Hugo is not to be confused with Mr J. Hugo who was a Fire Warden (Fire Engine no. 1) at Stellenbosch. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 50 "Two or three of the principal Kloof's or Mountain-passes, leading to the Interior, are in this District; the Franschhoek Pass, that master-piece of workmanship, which is the most direct and main road from Cape Town to the Interior and Frontier.- The Hottentot's Holland Kloof: under the able superintendence of the Surveyor-General, a new road is nearly completed over this formidable mountain ... There is also a Pass at Houwhoek." (Cape Almanack 1829)
- 51 A reference to a previous Journal. The title-page of this Journal reads: "Continuation of Lisinka's Journal". (Elizabeth Cozens, journal, PRO 30/43/121)
- 52 Sir John Herschel describes the same: "Half way up occurs the Black oxide of iron in a state partly pisolitic partly scoriform, in great beds ... commenced descent which winds beside a very deep & rugged ravine of desolate & sterile hills." (Evans 258)
- 53 Sir John Herschel describes the flora in his Travel Diary written at the same time of the year, mid-October, 1836. (Evans 257)

Mr MacKay shewed me the course of the old road, which made an almost perpendicular descent to the edge of the stream, and it is quite marvellous to think how any kind of vehicle could ever have ascended or descended it.⁵⁴ The average height of the mountain where the road is now made is about eight hundred feet - the length of it I have not been able to learn - we were about three hours going over it⁵⁵ - the Toll House⁵⁶ where we were to dine and sleep stands at the bottom of the pass, and is just such a forlorn looking house, standing on a wild common, surrounded by mountains as Walter Scott⁵⁷ would choose for the scene of some strange adventure or extraordinary meeting⁵⁸ - We encountered nothing more wonderful than a meeting with Mr Dickinson who came here in one of the Governor's Waggon, which was sent to convey us, the rest of our journey, and who went on to Stellenbosch in ours.⁵⁹ I have omitted to mention that at the Paarl, or rather forming part of the escort which conducted us thither, was Mr Van Reineveld who came to take charge of us, as long as we were in his district and who left us, at the Toll House.⁶⁰ There were but two Bedrooms in the House - Fanny, and the Boys, occupied one, the Girls, Mrs Dundas and I, the other - and the Gentlemen occupied the Waggon, and I believe were better off in some respects than the Ladies - Mrs Dundas and I, passed a wretched night!⁶¹

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- 54 The new road had been constructed by the discharged men of the Royal African Corps, seconded to the 72nd Regt. The road was finished in 1823. (Cory 2:108)
- 55 James Ewart, (c.1791-1823) following the old path in the opposite direction, wrote in his Journal of 8 Mar. 1814: "Thro this opening or chasm a path almost indescribable, sometimes winding up the rocky bed of the river, then mounting the almost perpendicular sides of the mountain, or crossing the most frightful gulleys, brought us after three hours incessant labour to the summit of the mountain overhanging the little fertile valley of the Fransche Hoek of which we had a delightful view." (Ewart 88)
- 56 In Nov. 1834 Lady Margaret Herschel and her party were unable to continue over this pass because there was no accommodation at the little Toll House. (Herschel 57)
- 57 Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832).
- 58 In Oct. 1836, Sir John Herschel described the situation of the Toll House: "the Toll House ... by a gentle slope beside a pretty picturesque river with a bad wooden bridge & a tolerable bordering of Brushwood making a good scene for a sketch wh[ic]h after landing at the Toll House I returned & drew (No 3) Also got a bathe in the clear stream below the bridge." (Evans 258)
- 59 Mr Frederic Dickinson is listed as Sir Lowry Cole's Private Secretary. (Cape Almanack 1829) On Friday 27 Feb. 1829 he married Miss Maria Johanna Joubert in the English Church, Cape Town. (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 Mar. 1829) Sir Lowry Cole wrote of him, when Dickinson accompanied him on his Tour: "[He] is quite fresh and undergoes the fatigue particularly well and eats for two at all times of the day." (Cole and Gwynn 242)
- 60 Mr Daniel Johannes van Ryneveld esq. was Civil Commissioner and a Justice of the Peace for the District of Stellenbosch. (Cape Almanack 1830) His only daughter, Maria Josina Johanna, would marry William Donald MacKay, Civil Commissioner of the Cape District, at Stellenbosch on 27 Nov. 1830. (Gazette 3 Dec. 1830)
- 61 Lady Frances Cole records in her Journal: "The Man of the Home not prepared to receive us made us wait for dinner till seven o'clock. The Ladies & the Children occupied the rooms his home afforded." (PRO 30/43/114)

Thursday 17th Willy's Birthday⁶². We set off, about eight o'clock, our waggon being driven by the Field Cornet, Mr Otto, a very intelligent young man who spoke remarkably good English.⁶³ It is impossible to describe the badness of the road⁶⁴ - it can only be compared to that going to Cape Point, and as the Horses went faster than the Bullocks, had done, of course we were shaken in proportion. There was little to admire in the view,⁶⁵ and the only thing worthy of admiration was the variety and beauty of the Amazanthus or Everlasting Flowers; the Dutch call them: 7 year's bloom (or flower). The only rarity was a river of some breadth the "zonder-end Riviere," (without end) so called from its consisting of so many streams that it is difficult to find out the original one. We went up & down very steep hills, without finding anything new at the top of them & no pretty scenery at all [P5] except near a farm belonging to a Mr Pretorius where we stopped to have some tiffin - About an hour farther on, we changed Horses and were informed by our new driver that the Governor had reached Genadendal⁶⁶ about twelve o'clock - we had not travelled on above an hour more when we perceived a Horseman rapidly approaching us; we soon perceived this was the Governor, who had already been nearly as far to meet us & had returned being tired of waiting for us - he looked well though exceedingly sunburnt⁶⁷ - we made room for him in the Waggon, Mrs Dundas & I taking our places in the second waggon, & sending the Boys into the first that the family party might be complete. The first view of Genadendal is very striking⁶⁸ - after reaching the top of a hill where the ascent is so steep that the road appears to end suddenly, you look down upon a valley, and under the shade of some fine oak trees are a small Hamlet, of neat Houses, and a Church conspicuous above the other buildings by its dazzling whiteness - to the right of this Hamlet & where the valley is more open, there are many neat huts belonging to the Hottentots of the establishment & each surrounded by a piece of Garden Ground kept in very nice order. Our approach to the little Village was thro' a narrow green lane which looked so perfectly English, that I could have fancied myself at home, but for the fine Mountains, which backed this English Scenery, and reminded me where I was. We were soon met by Mr Halbeck,⁶⁹ the superintendent of the Establishment, who gave us a most friendly

- 62 According to the records William Cole's tenth birthday was on the 18 Nov. (PRO 30/43/8) Possibly it was Jemima Dundas's (née Graham) birthday. She was the sister of Col. John Graham and, in time, bore her husband twenty children. (Krüger 3:247)
- 63 Mr M. Otto was Field Cornet of the Zwart-river, District of Swellendam. Mr P. Otto was Field Cornet of Caledon. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 64 Sir John Herschel described the roads seven year's later as: "Roads horrible just before crossing the river before Gnadenthal especially." (Evans 259)
- 65 Sir John Herschel wrote: "The Valley here opens out into a wide alluvial swamp of apparently 8 or 10 miles broad & great length bounded by dry barren sandrock - a desolate scene." (Evans 259)
- 66 Sir Lowry Cole had travelled from the Frontier to meet his family at Genadendal.
- 67 Sir Lowry had written to Lady Frances: "You will find me sadly burnt and old-looking. However I am very well in health and better able to undergo fatigue than when I left you." (Cole and Gwynn 242)
- 68 Compare descriptions of Genadendal by George Champion (1810-1841), (Champion 15); and Rev. C.I. Latrobe (1758-1836) (Latrobe 58-59).

welcome,⁷⁰ & soon after introduced us to his Wife, a pleasing, mild looking woman, and to a Mrs Lightnor,⁷¹ the only Englishwoman amongst the Society. We dressed as speedily as we could, and about six o'clock were summoned to the room in which all the meals are taken. +

+ The Missionaries rise at five - breakfast at 1/2 past 7 - dine at twelve - have coffee at 2 - sup at 6 - have prayers at 8 - in the Church - & retire to rest soon afterwards.⁷²

Our party being very large, and the apartment not being a very spacious one, the whole of the community could not take their supper with us, which I regretted, as I should like to have seen their usual manner of life - Mr Halbeck, his Wife and Mrs Lightnor, were the only Moravians present. At the Governor's desire, Mr Halbeck said Grace - in general, I understand, a Hymn is sung by the whole community, before they sit down to Table.⁷³ Whilst we were at dinner, we were surprised by the sound of Singing at the door of the room, and were told that it was the custom of the Hottentots to welcome Strangers in that manner - they sung well & in parts⁷⁴, and there were two or three very beautiful & powerful voices amongst the invisible Group. At eight o'clock, the Bell summoned us to Church, which we all attended. The Service [P6] began & concluded by the singing of a Hymn - I believe there were no prayers read - but as the whole of the service was in Dutch, I may be mistaken in this idea. Mr Halbeck expounded a portion of scripture, with much earnestness, and apparent kindness of manner - he sat the whole time, and so did the congregation which was numerous. The Church is a very simple building, supported in the middle by two very substantial pillars, which as Mr Halbeck observed were more for use than ornament it has a Gallery at each end - the body of it is left free for benches, the men, sitting on one side, the women on the other. On a wooden platform on the side raised about a foot from the ground, was placed a desk, and the armchair on which Mr Halbeck sat, and on each side of it, was a long bench, with a back to it, the Ladies occupied that, on his right hand, the Gentlemen, that, on his left. After the Service, Mr Halbeck accompanied us, to the sitting

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- 69 Hans Peter Hallbeck (1784-1840) had come to the Cape with his wife, Johanna Christiana (née Beck) on 17 Dec. 1817, from which time he superintended the Moravian Mission until his sudden death in November 1840. (Krüger 4:207)
- 70 Lady Frances described H.P. Hallbeck as: "a very amiable well educated Swede." (journal, 18 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 71 Mr J.M. Leitner was the superintendent of the "Hemel en Aarde" leper institution in the Caledon district. (Cape Almanack 1829)
- 72 George Champion's journal entry for 11 Apr. 1835 records: "The Moravians are early risers. Six is the hour for rising at this season, when all the missionaries & their wives assemble in their commons for a cup of coffee & to learn the verse of scripture for the day ... After the cup of coffee there is often some meeting in the chapel ... In an hour breakfast is ready. Then the concerns of the station go on till noon. After dinner, one half hour is allowed for sleep. Then a cup of coffee is taken, & the work goes on. Supper at six, & soon after an hour's service in chapel, after which all is perfectly still at Genadendal." (Champion 16)
- 73 George Champion's journal: "The brethren say grace by singing a hymn." (Champion 17)
- 74 Lady Herschel wrote of the Infant School: "their lessons were mostly sung in parts by the little mortals themselves." (Herschel 128)

room, which had been appropriated to Sir Lowry's use, and drank tea with us - soon after all the party, repaired to their several rooms.

Wednesday 18th

We breakfasted at eight - The early part of the morning was spent in inspecting the work of some of the Hottentot Girls and in being introduced to the Wives of the Missionaries - We afterwards went to the Church; where the Hottentot Children belonging to the Establishment, were to go through their work by examination - as it was conducted in the Dutch Language, I unfortunately could understand but little of it, but I could make out enough to feel sure that the Children answered, the questions put to them concerning the historical parts of the old Testament, upon consideration and not like parrots - that they were not previously prepared for the examination - I followed them when they read; & could perceive that they read accurately, but had the fault, common to Children, they did not mind the stops. The writing & ciphering of two of the Boys, was shown to us, which was extremely good - & the questions put to them on Mathematics & the use of the Globes, it would have puzzled most of the Gentlemen Spectators to have answered. I should say, that these two Boys had been taught rather too much, had not Mr Halbeck told me that he intended to bring them up as Schoolmasters, and perhaps as Missionaries - & they have such astonishing memories that they learn without difficulty. When we left the Church, we set off to visit the Hottentot Village and were much pleased by the comfortable & neat appearance of most of the Huts, and their inmates, who were neatly clothed, and the Women [P7] generally employed at their needle. In one or two of the Houses, for they are built with regular walls, and neatly thatched, we saw shelves, on which were neatly arranged some books, cups & saucers, spoons &c &c - in short having all the appearance of a neat Cottager's residence in England.

Some of the original Huts are very wretched indeed and so are the old Inhabitants of them at least the Women, the men were all out at work. Mr Hallbeck spoke to one or two of the old women (hideous creatures certainly) in order that we might hear the genuine Hottentot language which is very nearly extinct; the sounds were as ugly as the lips from whence they came. Mr Hallbeck told me that when first a Hottentot family, is selected to dwell at Genadendal, they build their own hut, after their own fashion - and when by their industry & their savings, they are enabled to have a neat house built for them, they receive a premium of 25 dollars. The number of children admitted to the School is nearly three hundred, but during harvest time and whilst the fields are in cultivation, there are seldom more than 150 at home. After having had Tiffin and rested ourselves a little, the Gentlemen went to ride - Fanny & Mrs Dundas and the Children were employed in arranging dried plants &c &c and I took a solitary walk up the Glen at the back of the little Hamlet, & which winds between the Mountains & by the side of a clear little river, for several miles - my progress however was soon stopped by such enormous rocks, that I knew not how to get across them - so I retraced my steps - and afterwards went to the Garden belonging to the Establishment,⁷⁵ & from thence to a very pretty Avenue of Oak Trees, planted by Mr Hallbeck about thirteen years ago from the acorn, & very nice Trees already - on my return I met the Govr & Mr Hallbeck, the latter joined me in my walk and gave me some interesting details of the first Establishment of the Brotherhood at Genadendal - he showed me a venerable

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Champion: "The garden of the brethren is in the vicinity of the church. A path hedged with roses in full bloom stretches from one end to the other. Schmidt's pear tree is in the middle of this path. We here regaled ourselves with some ripe strawberries ... They have a great variety of delicious fruits, grapes, figs, oranges, lemons, excellent apples, grapes &c &c. The path continued leads into the grave yard, thro a gate." (Champion 18)

pear Tree in the Garden, which 30 years ago he said was, the Church and Schoolroom of the Missionaries the present Church was opened in 1800, & was the first Church built in Overberg, with the exception of that at Swellingdam. There are seven Missionaries at Genadendal with their wives & families; men in the middle station of life and all working at their Trades - the Genadendal knives⁷⁶ & work boxes⁷⁷ are eagerly purchased. There are one or two offsets from the Parent Society, in various parts of the Colony, and Mr Hallbeck superintends the whole - He is a Swede by birth, and regularly ordained to the [P8] Ministry - I asked him whether he administered to the bodily as well as the spiritual infirmities of his Flock, and he told me that in his country all who were intended to take orders, were regularly taught Medicine. He is the only gentleman in the Society, and has the manners of a Man who has mixed in the World, joined to that true politeness, which springs from a benevolent heart & mild temper. The whole Society, and the situation of the little Village, in a nook between the Mountains, reminded me strongly of Gilly's⁷⁸ description of the Vaudois.⁷⁹

Thursday 19th After breakfast, we took leave with regret of our kind Host, & proceeded to Caledon a journey of three hours & a half I think⁸⁰ - The only picturesque part of the road, was where we crossed the River which flows thro' Genadendal, the Waggon going through the water, and the Gentlemen Ladies and Horses walking over a romantic looking but not very secure bridge, built by the Missionaries themselves - it is of wood, very high & very narrow, just room enough for a waggon to go over when the river is too deep to be forded - the rest of our way was up & down very steep hills, completely bare of Trees, with nothing to be seen from the top of one hill but a hill still higher beyond it - if by chance we saw three or four trees, and a house amongst them, we exclaimed, "what a pretty place"! So rare is beauty in the district of Swellingdam which we had now entered - it is however, a good Corn Country. Caledon is as dreary as that country in which it stands - We were hospitably received into the house of Mr Baderie, whose wife was so enchanted to see the Governor and his family, that she did nothing but call out, My dear Lady Frances, my dear Ladies! She gave us the best accommodation she could, but it was bad at least the share which Mrs Dundas and I, had of it.

Caledon is famous for its warm Baths. The Baths are about a mile from the Village - they did not look very tempting, though the water was clear and pleasantly warm - a little nearer the Hills, is an establishment belonging to

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- 76 Champion records: "There is a Smithy superintended by one of the brethren. Some kinds of cutlery we saw very neatly finished." (Champion 17) Herrnhuter knives, made in Genadendal, were well known.
- 77 Lady Herschel wrote: "I carried away a bag embroidered by a Hottentot & Herschel brought some knives." (Herschel 128)
- 78 Probably John Gillies.
- 79 Inhabitants of the canton of Vaud in southwestern Switzerland. It joined the Swiss Confederation in 1803.
- 80 James Ewart recorded that the Moravian settlement was "distant about twenty miles in a northerly direction" from the Hot Baths. (Ewart 64) Caledon is about 80 miles from Cape Town. The Cape Almanack of 1829 reported: "There are two villages in this district, Swellendam and Caledon; the former containing sixty houses, and the latter thirty, and the Warm Baths."

Governt for the use of sick slaves - where the spring rises the water is as warm, as one can conveniently have to put one's hand into.⁸¹

Friday 20th We left Caledon with pleasure, but Mrs Dundas with great regret - for here we parted - she to go on the following morning with Mr Rivers,⁸² to meet Major Dundas at Swellingdam - I missed her much ! We were driven part of the way by our former Charioteer, Mr Otto, who seemed pleased to have resumed his charge - The country was of the same character as the day before; except that we caught a glimpse of the Sea - and near a river which we crossed, the Bott,⁸³ there were some fine trees, & the Banks were rugged & verdant. [P9] We changed Horses & Drivers, near a place belonging to a Boor of the name of de Kock⁸⁴ and had our Tiffin in the carriage. We had again, fine mountain scenery in ascending a very steep & rugged pass, called the How-Hoek we were told to get out of the waggon, during the descent, but I do not think, the road was much worse than some we had previously passed over⁸⁵ - at the bottom of the How-Hoek, his Excellency, who had been making a de'tour⁸⁶ to visit an Institution for persons afflicted with Leprosy, (called Heaven & Earth)⁸⁷ was joined by all the Boors residing in the neighbourhood, and also by Mr Van Reineveld, in whose district we were now arrived once more - a Salute was fired, & then His Excellency cantered up the Hill to join us, - We proceeded

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- 81 John Herschel kept scientific notes of his visit there: "Caledon - Descending stream at 150 yards above the Bath house 109.4 runs in a rudely covered channel. Near top of the low flat topped mound still in an artificial channel but where it comes from a covered place 115.6 Arterial source 117.4." (Evans 260)

James Ewart also visited the place: "The spring which supplies the Baths issues from the summit of a detached part of the mountain, the water is chalybeate, the heat about 112 of Fahrenheit ... In a narrow valley about a quarter of a mile from the Baths, water'd by a small periodical stream, a village has begun to be built." (Ewart 63)

- 82 Mr Harry Rivers was the Civil Commissioner of the Swellendam District. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 83 The Bot River was the boundary between the Districts of Swellendam and Stellenbosch. (Cape Almanack 1830; South African Commercial Advertiser 2 Dec. 1829)
- 84 "On Friday evening last, his Excellency the Governor, accompanied by Lady Frances and family, reached Bot-rivier (the boundary of the Stellenbosch district), and having passed the house of Mr Servaas de Kock, proceeded on the following morning towards Hottentot's Holland." (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Nov. 1829)
- 85 James Ewart described it in his journal: "we crossed a range of mountains called the How Hoek, by a pass or klooft [sic] more dreaded by the Boors, than that of Hottentot Holland though neither so steep or long." (Ewart 62)
- Latrobe recorded: "Haue [sic] Hoek, where the English have established a turnpike, to cover the expense of mending the road across the mountain, which formerly was very rough and dangerous." (Latrobe 97)
- The Houwhoek Pass was repaired and a new road built to it, under Major Michell's directorship in Apr. 1831. (Krüger 1:541)
- 86 Lady Frances entered in her journal that Sir Lowry had "gone on to the Leper Institution at six o'clock". (journal 20 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 87 "The Leper Institution, or Hospital, is situate at the place called 'Hemel en Aarde', near the mouth of the Bot-river, for the reception and care of Hottentots, Free People of Color, and Slaves, afflicted with Leprosy." (Cape Almanack 1830)

together to a place called Palmetta's River⁸⁸ where we dined and slept at the House of Mr Venables, formerly a Merchant⁸⁹ in Cape Town, where we were very hospitably received, but where our accommodations were very limited - the Girls and myself slept in a room little bigger than a Closet, but very clean which was a great comfort.

Saturday 21st We left Palmiets' River soon after breakfast and proceeded under the Guidance of Major Michell⁹⁰ towards the new Road over the Hottentots' Holland Kloof,⁹¹ we were met on the way, by many of the Boors, and also by the Civil Commissioner (Mr V. Reineveld) and Mr Hamilton who came from Hottentots' Holland to meet us - it was really a gay & pretty scene to see their numerous assemblage on Horseback, scampering over the face of the green hills - when we approached near the road, the gentlemen dismounted & we got out of our Waggons, which then proceeded by the old road; whilst we crossed the Kloof by the new - the first view from the Kloof is fine, from its immence [sic] extent - you see the Flats stretching out before you, to a great distance Simon's Bay, and the opposite coast, Table Mountain and Cape Town lying at its feet, and a range of Mountains to bound the view on your right hand - but I infinitely prefer, the wild mountain scenery of the Fransche Hoek. The road is the most beautiful thing of the kind that can be imagined - it stretched along the side of the mountain, by a descent so gradual, that you do not perceive that you are descending - it is very wide, smooth and even, except in one part which Major Michell (the planner of this great work) has named "Sir Lowry's Pass" where in consequence of the extreme labour of cutting through the solid rock, the road is narrow, but here it is defended by a strong parapet Wall, so that one feels quite secure in this part of the road, a chasm in the [P10] mountain, has been filled up by, a wall, 45 feet in height and 35 in length - the breadth of the road here is not above twelve or 14 feet but the average breadth

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- 88 i.e. Palmiet River. Of it, James Ewart had written: "a miserable road ... brought us to the banks of the Palmiete [sic] River, which we crossed by a newly erected wooden bridge supported on stone buttresses. The river is narrow and deep ... its banks are every where cover'd with sedges, having a thick stalk and root, called by the colonists Palmiete, and which give the present name to the river." (Ewart 61). These reeds were: "Pronium Serratum, a member of the rush family (Juncaceae) which grows in impenetrable thickets up to 3 metres high in fast-flowing mountain streams." (Herschel 127 footnote).
- 89 Mr William Ferrar Venables was listed in the Cape Almanack (1828) as a merchant and agent, at 4 Keizersgracht, Cape Town.
- 90 Major Charles Cornwallis Michell (1793-1851) had been appointed surveyor-general and civil engineer. He had arrived at the Cape with his wife and three daughters on 21 Oct. 1828 (Krüger 1:541; South African Commercial Advertiser 22 Oct. 1828).
- 91 James Ewart: "Having reached the bottom of the mountains and passed a small house where a toll is collected for keeping the road in repair, we began to ascend the pass (or as it is called the klooft) over them, one of the most difficult to cross in the Colony. From the toll house to the summit of the klooft a distance of a mile and a half, the whole of the path is so steep, narrow, and rugged, that the oxen seem'd to have the greatest difficulty in dragging up the waggon though nearly empty, being obliged to stop every twenty or thirty yards to take breath. It is in crossing these kloofts that the Boors put in practice the most dreadful cruelties on their cattle." (Ewart 61).
- The South African Commercial Advertiser carried the following report in Mar. 1829: "The road over Hottentot's Holland Kloof is at present in the worst state of repair ever known. Who looks after the Contractor, or rather who forgets to do so? (11 Mar. 1829). The new pass was opened in July 1830 and named "Sir Lowry's Pass" after the Governor (Krüger 1:541).

is about twenty. The astonishment and delight of the Boors at the sight of this magnificent work, was very great - and so is their gratitude to the Governor, for having thought of it⁹² - a view of the old road⁹³, which comes almost perpendicularly down the mountain, filled us with wonder how any vehicle, or animal even, could reach the bottom in safety - yet down this very road, fifty waggons are said to pass daily - we ourselves, the day before, counted 24 travelling that road, between Mr de Kock's, & Palmetta's Rivier - the utility therefore of this work, cannot be doubted. We rejoined our own Waggon at the bottom of the Kloof and proceeded about a mile to the encampment at Hottentot's Holland, where we were most civilly received by the detachment of the 72d. Regt stationed there - the Officers were, Mr Duthie⁹⁴, Mr Robinson⁹⁵, Captain Logie⁹⁶, and the Assistant [sic] Surgeon Mr Ford⁹⁷ - and Mr Fielding of the 98th, the acting Engineer employed in making the road⁹⁸ - he & Captain Logie have been stationed there since the commencement of the work, last Janry.

I forgot to mention, that whilst we were pausing to admire the magnificence of "Sir Lowry's Pass" some of the trains of Gunpowder, laid for blasting the rock, were lighted - the explosion was very fine, & so was the sound of the crushing pieces of rock, as they rolled down the side of the mountain, and were scattered into small fragments at the bottom.⁹⁹

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- 92 Already in 1828 a 'correspondent' had written in the South African Commercial Advertiser: "It is with great pleasure that we learn the good intention of His excellency the Governor, who has visited the Hottentots' Holland Kloof, in all probability to see what measures may be taken to improve the road across that dangerous pass. This work would be a great relief to the country-people, who are now obliged to carry their produce over a nearly impassable road, and would give us reason to hope for greater improvements under His Excellency's Administration." (8 Nov. 1828)

This pass had now been completed. The Commercial Advertiser carried the following report: "the appearance of the Road itself, called forth expressions of admiration and astonishment from all, but from none more than the Farmers, to whom the sight was perhaps the most novel, and who could best appreciate the benefits which must result from the undertaking." (25 Nov. 1829)

- 93 Lady Frances recorded that the party "proceeded in the Waggon to the top of the Kloof & then walked down the new road, yet unfit for any but foot passengers - were much struck with its beauty & perfection as a road." (journal 21 Nov. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 94 Lt. Thomas Henry Duthie (1806-1857), joined his regiment at the Castle in September 1828 and later became the commander of a detachment of the 72nd Highlanders (Duke of Albany's Regiment) to superintend the construction of a road over the Hottentots Holland Pass to Houwhoek. In 1833 he married Caroline Rex, the daughter of George Rex, purchased the Belvedere Estate on the Knysna River, and so abandoned his military career. (Krüger 3:251)
- 95 Lt. W.H. Robinson, of the 72d Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 96 Captain Alexander Logie, Officer of the 72d Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 97 Assistant-Surgeon William Ford of the 72d Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 98 i.e. Lt F.B. Fielding of the 98th Regt. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Nov. 1829)
- 99 This event was reported in the South African Commercial Advertiser: "When they had advanced about two hundred yards, the Miners set fire to several trains which they had

The rest of the day was spent by the Ladies in resting themselves, and in making acquaintance with our new friends of the 72d. We were accommodated, in the small Inn, kept by Messrs. Evans & Needham; the Gentlemen of our party were in Tents, pitched in the Garden - and we had our meals in a large Marqué, in front of the House all these arrangements were made for us, thro' the kindness and goodnature of Col. Arbuthnot, who was quite happy to have some of his "family" about him, & to have them so much approved; indeed nothing could exceed the kind civility of "the Detachment."

Sunday 22nd A dreadfully hot day ! The Thermometer in the Marqué was at 96 - Mr Cooke¹⁰⁰ read Divine Service in the Barracks - In the evening we went to see a place belonging to Mr Theunieson and formerly one of the country residences of the Dutch Governors¹⁰¹ - a most beautiful spot! which filled us with envy - there are Camphire [P11] and oak trees there, of a size I have never seen excelled in England, except at Ampthill Park - and Mountains, which are not to be seen there. We returned back through the pretty little Hamlet of Somerset,¹⁰² the country around which, looked more green, more rural, and more thickly inhabited than any I had seen before in Africa, or at least at any distance from Cape Town.

Monday 23rd We drove to Gordon's Bay,¹⁰³ and were disappointed in its appearance - it is very barren and the opposite coast, which is the chief thing to be seen, was this day invisible, owing to the haziness of the atmosphere. We however added considerably to our collection of flowers, thanks to the goodnatured activity of the Gentlemen who had had their amusement in fishing at Gordon's Bay.

Tuesday 24th We left our hospitable friends, and returned to Cape Town, through the most dreary road imaginable - deep sand, & so dazzlingly white as

prepared, and by the blasts which followed, large masses of earth were scattered over the face of the precipice, and huge rocks were torn asunder, and fragments hurled down the mountain's side." (25 Nov. 1829)

- 100 The Rev. Henry G. Pauncefote Cooke, B.A., had set out with the party on their tour. It seems that both he and Mrs Cooke arrived at the Cape on 24 March 1825 from Madras on board the George. Mr Cooke was listed as Madras Civil Service. (Cape of Good Hope Gazette 11 Nov. 1831)
- 101 This was probably Vergelegen, the ground for which was granted to the Dutch Governor, Willem Adriaan van der Stel by a Dutch Commissioner in 1700. More land was annexed in 1703, a "commodious dwelling house eighty-two feet by seventy-four English feet in area and nineteen feet six inches high" built, and by 1705 his brother, Frans occupied the homestead and controlled the trade in the area. (Pearse 56-59)
- 102 i.e. Somerset West, founded in 1822 on what had been a portion of the farm Cloetenberg, and named after Lord Charles Somerset (1767-1831). (Pearse 146)
- 103 Gordon's Bay, an inlet of False Bay, named after Col. Robert Jacob Gordon (1743-1795), officer commanding the Cape Garrison (1780) until 1795 when on 16 September the capitulation was signed between the Dutch and the English. He took his own life soon afterwards. (Cullinan 184-85)

Thursday 26th George Harris¹⁰⁹ came from Simon's Bay. Col. Munro,¹¹⁰
Baron Lorentz, Major Michell and Mr Baillie¹¹¹ dined here.

Friday 27th Major & Mrs Dundas arrived in Cape Town the former
looking much better than I expected after his very severe illness.¹¹² Mr Clarke
Burton¹¹³ & Mr Skirrow¹¹⁴ dined here.

Saturday 28th Dr Dyce returned - having ridden no less than 110 miles
this day! He has seen a great deal, and is delighted with his Tour - he looks well
but very thin.¹¹⁵ The Bells, Col. Fane, and Capt. Eyre,¹¹⁶ dined here.

Sunday 29th Mr Bowles dined here.

Monday 30th The 72d Gave a Grand Dinner to celebrate St Andrew's
Day.- His Excellency was amongst the Guests. Catherine¹¹⁷ dined at Govt.

108 Contrary winds had delayed a number of ships, the Maidstone having sailed from the Isle of France on 1 Nov. It was usually about a fourteen day's trip (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Nov. 1829).

109 Mr George Harris was a relative.

110 Lt-Col. A. Munro, of the Royal Artillery, was stationed at the Cape of Good Hope (Cape Almanack 1830).

111 Mr Robert Baillie, most senior ensign of the 72nd Highlanders (Cape Almanack 1830). He was to leave the Cape with the Cole family in 1833 (Lady Frances, journal 12 Aug. 1833, PRO 30/43/115).

112 refer footnote 17.

113 Mr Clerke Burton, was master in the Master's Office of the Judicial Establishment at the Cape (Cape Almanack 1830).

114 Mr John Skirrow - or Skerrow (d.1846) arrived at the Cape on 22 Feb. 1825 and in addition to supervising the building of the Royal Observatory, was Assistant Government Architect and Superintendent of the Town Waterworks. He was appointed Government Architect in 1830 (Cape Almanack 1830; Krüger 3:740-41; Warner 16).

115 Dr. Robert Dyce M.D., had accompanied Mr Justice Burton, Mr Crozier, and Major Rogers on the Circuit; therefore he could not travel with Lady Frances Cole and her party on their second Tour (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Oct. 1829).

116 Captain Henry Eyre, of the 98th Regt. (Cape Almanack 1830).

117 Mrs Catherine Bell (née Harris), Lady Frances Cole's sister.

House.

The Triumph came in.¹¹⁸

December

December

Tuesday 1st Major Hall¹¹⁹, Major Vaughan¹²⁰ & Mr Jones¹²¹ dined at Govt. House. I was ill and did not come down.

Wednesday 2d Col. Arbuthnot dined at Govt. House.

Thursday 3d The Bells, Mr Marnell,¹²² & another Hindoo,¹²³ Mr Campbell,¹²⁴ & Captain Greville dined at Govt. House.

Friday 4th Captains Greville, Markham,¹²⁵ Clinton¹²⁶ & Bance dined here. I came down in the evening for the first time since Monday.

Saturday 5th Captain Forster and Mr Williams¹²⁷ dined here.

118 The Triumph had sailed under the command of Captain T. Green from Plymouth on 1 Sept. with mail. She was headed for Bombay. (Cape of Good Hope Gazette 4 Dec. 1829)

119 Major George Hall had arrived at the Cape on board the William Money, along with 23 officers, and 300 rank and file of H.M. 72nd Regiment, on 10 Oct. 1828. The ship had sailed from the Downs on 5 July for Table Bay. (Cape Almanack 1829; South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Oct. 1828)

120 Major Edward Vaughan, of the 98th Regt. (Cape Almanack 1829) His daughter, Jane, had been christened in the Military Chapel on 28 Jan. (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Jan. 1829)

121 Probably Mr R.P. Jones of the Commissary General's Department. (Cape Almanack 1829)

122 A Mr J. Manuel is listed as a merchant at no. 4 Berg Street, Cape Town. (Cape Almanack 1830)

123 See also Bradlow and Cairns 80.

124 Captain Patrick Campbell (1773-1841) was promoted to Rear-Admiral at the Cape in May 1834, and knighted in 1836. He married Captain Wauchope's sister. (Evans 149; Herschel 59; Warner, Brian and Nancy 12)

Lisinka often attributes incorrect ranks to people, or neglects them altogether. Two other Campbells might have been known to her: Captain Donald Campbell had been Port Captain at Table Bay before James Bance; and Mr L. Campbell had been Private Secretary to the then acting governor, Major-General Bourke. (Cape Almanack 1828)

125 Captain Warren Markham, of the 72nd Highlanders. The tragic death of this young man was later to be recorded by Lisinka. (Cape Almanack 1830)

126 Captain Henry Clinton, of the 98th Regt. (Cape Almanack 1830)

127 1st Lt M. Williams of the Royal Engineers had received his commission on 1 May 1816. (Cape Almanack 1829)

- Sunday 6th The Sunday School was opened; there were 30 Boys, and 15 Girls. The Bells dined here.
- Monday 7th Mr Robinson, Mr Raymond,¹²⁸ & Col. Fane dined here.
- Tuesday 8th¹²⁹ Captain Greville went away. Mr Dickinson dined here.
- Wednesday 9th Col. Arbuthnot dined here. Sir Lowry and Fanny, and the rest of the party, with the exception of myself, went to the Play to see Mr Booth in "Othello."¹³⁰
- Thursday 10th The Commodore¹³¹ and Mr Brownrigg¹³² arrived. Col. and Mrs Munroe and Miss Taylor,¹³³ Col. Smith, Col. Daniel¹³⁴, dined here.
- Friday 11th Baron & Baroness Lorentz, Col. Arbuthnot, Mr Austen and Capt. Le Marchant¹³⁵ dined here.
- Saturday 12th The Bells, the Dundases, Col. Arbuthnot, Captain Forster, Mr MacKay dined here.
- Sunday 13th A family party at dinner.

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- 128 Lt H.P. Raymond of the 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1829)
- 129 Sir Lowry "breakfasted at Camp's Bay with Mr Oliphant". (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 130 The Theatrical evening, under the patronage of His Excellency the Governor and Lady Frances Cole, included Othello; a song: The King, God Bless Him; and the "laughable farce of The Wags of Windsor". This was the last Theatre performance before the Winter Season at the Cape. (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 Dec. 1829)
- 131 The Commodore was Captain Isaac Schomberg of the H.M.S. Maidstone. (Cape of Good Hope Gazette 1309; South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Feb. 1831) He had arrived at Simon's Bay on board the H.M.S. Rose on 9 Jan. 1829. He had sailed from Portsmouth on 15 Oct. 1828, via Teneriffe (29 Oct.), and Rio (9 Dec.) for the Cape. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Jan. 1829)
- 132 Lt. Marcus Freeman Brownrigg, of the H.M.S. Maidstone. The Brownrigg family was well known to the Coles. (Lady Frances, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 2 Sept. 1823, PRO 30/43/32)
- 133 A nurse/governess, Miss Sarah Taylor came to the Cape from England with the Maclear family. (Herschel 78; Krüger 3:557) Lady Frances Cole's housekeeper, Miss Taylor, had left from Mauritius for England in late 1828. Miss Catherine Taylor, who was chaperoned by Mrs Munro, was the only daughter of Lt-Col Taylor of the 20th Light Dragoons. (Cape of Good Hope Gazette 9 Dec. 1831)
- 134 Lt-Col. John Daniell, was of the Garrison Staff, Commandant of the Cape Castle and next in command to the Commander of the Forces under Major-General Richard Bourke's administration. (Cape Almanack 1828; Stockenstrom 1:278)
- 135 Captain J.G. Le Marchant, of the 98th Regiment, was Acting Town Major and Major of the Brigade in 1828 under the acting Governor's administration. (Cape Almanack 1828, 1830)

- Monday 14th Col. & Mrs Carey,¹³⁶ Mr & Mrs Stoll, Col. Wyatt,¹³⁷
Col. Fane, Dr. Murray, Mr Clarke Burton, Mr Baulderson¹³⁸ & Mr Tennant,¹³⁹
dined here.
- Tuesday 15th Jamesy's Birthday.¹⁴⁰
- [P13]
- Wednesday 16th I went to Sans Souci.¹⁴¹ The Stuarts,¹⁴² the Bances,
Col. Arbuthnot & Mr Scott dined there.
- Thursday 17th Mr Clarke Burton dined at Sans Souci.
- Friday 18th I paid some visits with Mrs Menzies.
- Saturday 19th Mr Menzies drove me out in his Gig.¹⁴³ Mrs William
Bird, Col. Wyatt and Mr Grant¹⁴⁴ dined at Sans Souci.
- Sunday 20th Col. Wade and his family &c arrived in the Boyne.¹⁴⁵
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- 136 Lt-Col. W.R. Cary of the Royal Artillery at the Cape of Good Hope. (Cape Almanack 1829)
- 137 Lt-Col. Wyatt had arrived at the Cape on board the H.E.I.C. ship Canning on 12 Feb. 1829. They had sailed from China on 20 Dec. with a cargo of teas. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Feb. 1829)
- 138 Mr S.M. Boulderson departed from the Colony at the end of March 1830. (South African Commercial Advertiser 24 March 1830) Lady Frances mentions his name in her journal and appends the letters E.I.C.I. to his name. (14 Dec. 1829, PRO 30/43/114)
- 139 Mr Hercules Tennant, an accountant in the Treasurer and Accountant General's Office. (Cape Almanack 1828-29; Krüger 5:765)
- 140 Master James Henry Cole, born 15 Dec. 1821 at Farnham, Hampshire, turned eight. (PRO 30/43/83) His mother wrote in her journal: "Jumbo's birthday kept." (15 Dec. 1829; PRO 30/43/114)
- 141 Sans Souci, in Rondebosch, was the residence of Justice William Menzies (Senior Puisne Judge) and his wife, from the time they arrived at the Cape in Oct. 1827 until 1835, when he bought Societeitshuis at Sea Point. (Krüger 3:601; Cape Almanack 1829)
- 142 Mr J. Steuart, High Sheriff in the Sheriff's Office, is listed at the address: Bouquet street, Cape Town. The post was created on 1 Jan. 1828 "for the better and more effectual administration of Justice in this Colony. His duty is to carry into execution all the Sentences and Decrees of the Supreme or Circuit Courts." (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 143 A Gig was a light two-wheeled carriage that was drawn by one horse. (OED)
- 144 1st Lt E. Grant of the Royal Artillery. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 145 Lady Frances recorded in her journal: "The Boyne was signalled at ten o'clock & by twelve Col. & Mrs Wade & Francis & Arthur Balfour landed from their having sailed the 29th Sept. They all dined here." (20 Dec. 1829, PRO 30/43/114) The Boyne was a fast-sailing ship, 619 tons, under the Captaincy of D. Warren. (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 Dec. 1829; Cape of Good Hope Gazette 25 Dec. 1829)
- Col. Wade (1784-1846) had served on Sir Lowry Cole's staff in the Peninsular War; and his wife and three of their children had accompanied him when he went to

- Monday 21st I drove out again with Mr Menzies.
- Tuesday 22nd¹⁴⁶ I returned to Cape Town.¹⁴⁷
Col. Arbuthnot dined at Govt. House.
- Wednesday 23rd The Wades, Captn. Warren of the Boyne, Mr Thomson (Agent Vitr. at Simon's Town)¹⁴⁸ and Dr Smith¹⁴⁹ dined here.
- Thursday 24th The Dundases dined here.
- Friday 25th¹⁵⁰ The Bells, the Wades, the Dundases, Col. Arbuthnot & Mr Bowles dined here also Captn. Warren.
- Saturday 26th Mr John Stoll,¹⁵¹ Mr Duthie & Mr Ford dined here & one or two more Gentlemen.
- Sunday 27th Col. Arbuthnot dined here.¹⁵²
- Monday 28th We heard of the death of Mrs Menzies' Baby.¹⁵³ Col. Fane, Major Hall, Mr Warden¹⁵⁴ and Mr Baulderson dined here.

Mauritius in 1823. (One child remained behind in England.) When Sir Lowry became Governor of the Cape Colony, Col. Wade accompanied him as his Military Secretary. (PRO 30/43/32; 30/43/114; Krüger 2:825) Col. Wade had been on furlough in England.

- 146 Lady Frances noted in her journal that "Lowry fell from his horse & bruised his face severely." (PRO 30/43/114)
- 147 Lady Frances noted that "Lisha returned from Sans Souci". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 148 Mr John Robert Thomson (1788-1880), merchant and trader, arrived in Cape Town in 1808 where, nineteen successful years later, he went into partnership with Harrison Watson, formed Thomson, Watson & Co., and they soon became the leading merchants of the Colony. (Krüger 4:652)
- 149 Dr. Andrew Smith (1797-1872) arrived in Simon's Bay in August 1820 as Temporary District Surgeon to the Forces. With Governor Lord Charles Somerset's encouragement, he founded the S.A. Museum in 1825 and co-founded and edited the new S.A. Quarterly Journal in 1830. He returned to England early in 1837. (Krüger 1:731-34)
- 150 Christmas Day.
- 151 i.e. The Hon. Joachim Stoll.
- 152 Lady Frances wrote that they "heard of the dangerous illness of Mrs Menzie's child." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 153 Lady Frances' journal entry reads: "Drove to Sans Souci to enquire after Mrs Menzie's child & were much shocked to hear of its death." (PRO 30/43/114)
The child, William Hood Menzies, eleven month old son of the Hon. Mr Justice Menzies and Anne Helena (née Christian), died at Sans Souci. (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 Jan. 1830; Krüger 3:602)
- 154 Mr John Warden, of the Bombay Civil Service, had arrived on board the Annandale on 6 Nov. from Bombay - a journey of exactly two months. Sadly his wife, Ellen Maria, had died at sea on 1 Oct. She was 25 years old. (Cape of Good Hope Gazette 13 Nov. 1829; South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Nov. 1829)

Tuesday 29th I went to Sans Souci;¹⁵⁵ where I remained till Thursday the 7th January; so I know nothing which passed at Governt. House, during that time except that the Commodore went away on Sunday the 3d.¹⁵⁶

155 Lady Frances noted in her journal that "Lisinka went to Sans Souci in the morning with Dr Dyce." (PRO 30/43/114)

156 i.e. Commodore Schomberg of the H.M.S. Maidstone.

The Journal of Elizabeth Cozens

The Journal - 1830

At the beginning of February 1830 the Coles moved to Boscheuwel, the Governor's newly acquired summer country home. This house they rented from Mr H. Maynier, who had recently enlarged it and added an upper storey. The sketches of the house made two years later by Sir Charles D'Oyly show it in its altered state (D'Oyly 43, 48). D'Oyly, himself, was an old family relation of the Harris family.¹ Certainly Lady Frances and Sir Charles would have been able to look over each other's sketch-books. An earlier visitor to the house, Mr Stewart, recorded in his journal that he was delighted with the work Lady Frances Cole had sketched:

I was gratified with a richer enjoyment in addition to the conversation taking place - in the privilege of looking over a sketch-book of Lady Cole filled with drawings from nature manifesting a high degree of native and cultivated talent. (Cole and Gwynn 234)

It is possible that Lisinka also knew the D'Oyly family.

Sir Lowry changed the name of the house to Protea which, afterwards, Bishop Robert Grey would change to Bishops court. Shortly afterwards they were visited by three American officers who had arrived at the Cape from Manila on board the United States corvette, Vincennes. One of them, Mr Stewart, kept a journal from which the following extract is taken, giving us a fine picture of the situation of the Coles' residence:

In little more than an hour [we] found ourselves whirling through the gates of Protea, the name given by Sir Lowry to the estate from the abundance of Silver-trees surrounding it ... Protea is the private property of the Governor, upon which improvements are just commencing, it having been in his possession only a short time. It seemed an unpretending establishment for a Captain General. (Cole and Gwynn 232-35)

A few days after this visit Sir Lowry and his family returned to Government House the day before St. George's Day - 23 April 1830. Although His Majesty George IV's (1762-1830) date of birth was 12 August, his birthday was celebrated on 23 April and so linked with St George, patron saint of England, whose feast day was celebrated traditionally on that date.

On St George's day 1830 was laid the Foundation-stone of the new St George's Church. Even though Lisinka had been ill for some days before and was fatigued by the event, she felt great pride on this occasion because it was she who had suggested to Colonel Bell "that St George's Day, ought to be the Day for the ceremony!"² The day after the ceremony and the St. George's Day celebratory ball, the family returned to Protea.

Sir Lowry's Birthday, coinciding with May Day, had always been an occasion for merrymaking and 1 May 1830 was no exception. The day had begun with a large family breakfast and, in the evening, a dinner party was given for twenty-four young people, followed afterwards by a dinner and dance for the adults. The events of the day were concluded with a supper given for the servants. As it was a Saturday all the festivities had to be concluded by midnight.

On this occasion concern was expressed for the welfare of Colonel Wade who injured his Achilles-tendon whilst dancing with Florence. He left the ball in great pain, but soon was fully recovered. However, the failing health of the Honourable Mrs Robinson also caused concern. Lisinka, herself, expressed her belief that any respite from the dowager's illness was the best that could be expected. It was not entirely

unexpected when, early in November, word was received from England that the Countess of Malmesbury had died on 20 August at her home in Berkeley Square. Her two daughters, Catherine Bell and Frances Cole must have felt quite distraught being separated by such a distance from her home at this time.

On Saturday 22nd May Lisinka and the children moved back to Government House in Cape Town for the winter, which soon announced its arrival with some fierce storms. Early in June some heavy weather was reported and two ships were blown ashore, but little of social interest occurred until July, when the case of "MacKay versus Philip" was heard in the Supreme Court, attracting great interest.

In April 1828 Dr Philip had published, in England, two volumes entitled Researches in South Africa which had exposed "wanton cruelty and oppression of aborigines by all classes at the Cape" (Cory 2:418). Over two pages of the first volume it was alleged that a Mr MacKay, a British official in the district of Somerset in the Eastern Cape, had flogged and imprisoned a Hottentot who had stolen some of the Cape brandy he had been charged to transport by wagon from one village to the town of Somerset. On the Hottentot's release from prison he had been contracted to another person for three years at a rate of pay which recompensed Mr MacKay for the stolen liquor. The allegedly libellous paragraph composed by Dr Philip ended with the words:

Such are some of the effects of magisterial influence at the Cape, as exercised on the Hottentot race. Such stories have often been told of Dutch boors and functionaries, but the functionary in question was neither a Dutchman nor an African, but a British military officer, and a special favourite, at that time, of the colonial government. (Philip 355)

Mr W. M. MacKay, the deputy landdrost of the town of Somerset, which was situated in the eastern Cape district of Somerset, brought an action to recover £1000 damages from Dr John Philip, of the London Missionary Society, for "intending to injure the said plaintiff, in his good name, fame, credit, and reputation" (Menzies 455). Mr MacKay claimed that Dr Philip's book contained "false, malicious, and defamatory libellous matter of and concerning the said plaintiff" (Menzies 455).

The defendant, Dr Philip, filed an exception, claiming that the book was published outside the Colony and that therefore the case was outside the jurisdiction of the Colonial Court. The pleadings were closed by mutual consent and the case was set down for Trial on 11 March 1830. At the March trial the Court judged that the exception was invalid and overruled it.

On 23 March Dr Philip moved the Court for leave to appeal against their judgement. This application was dismissed. Dr Philip then filed his plea on 27 March, to the effect that it had not been his intention to injure the plaintiff and that he was under the conviction "that the contents thereof" were "true, and in furtherance of a legal object" (Menzies 461).

On 16 April, in the Judges' Chambers, Dr Philip was awarded leave to amend his plea, which he filed subsequently in Court on 20 April. In this plea of justification he claimed that "the matter recited in the said declaration" concerning Mr MacKay, the plaintiff, was true and that he was prepared to verify it.

When the Trial was resumed, on Monday 12 July, Lisinka sat with Lady Mary Fitzroy and Mrs Menzies in the Grand Jury Box.³ A crowd attended all day, paying "deep attention" to the counsel on both sides: the Attorney-General, Mr Anthony Oliphant, for the plaintiff; and Mr Advocate Cloete for the defendant. That evening at six o'clock the Court adjourned until the following day when, again, the proceedings continued until six o'clock at which time judgement was reserved for 16 July.

Lisinka was exhausted by the whole event and was unable to accompany Lady Frances to the second Society Ball which was held that evening; however on the 16 July Lisinka, once again, was in Court. She recorded in her Journal that the judgement was in favour of Mr MacKay, with costs and £200 damages, and the fact that Dr Philip had been present during the whole trial and when judgement was given. Although Mr MacKay was successful, Dr Philip received encouragement and support from the London Missionary Society. Public meetings were organised at which money was raised to assist Dr Philip with the costs which amounted to almost one thousand pounds.

Apart from such an event, and the daily comings and goings at Government House, the weather was always an important topic in the Coles' household, not least because of its effect upon their health. The Cape weather turned cold through the last days of July and both Table Mountain and Devil's Peak were covered thickly with snow. In the Governor's household young Arthur Cole was recuperating from scarlet fever. By the 3 August young William and Henrietta also had caught scarlet fever. To prevent its spread little Frances was sent to stay with Catherine Bell and Lady Frances Cole moved away from her other children, leaving Lisinka to look after them. Florence and Louisa later caught the fever. All the children recovered whereas several cases of scarlet fever proved fatal in Cape Town that August.

The final four months of 1830 proved to be average months for Lisinka and the Governor's household. The entries in her Journal at this time provide a clear impression of the daily social life led in the Governor's household at the Cape of Good Hope. A number of leisure activities were available to men and women in Cape Town during the 1830s.

There were a number of dinners at Government House for the many visitors who called at the Cape from India, Mauritius, England and America, and the many invited guests who stayed overnight. For instance, Miss Pigot stayed there for three days early in October. Lisinka officiated at a juvenile birthday dinner in October, while Lady Frances Cole attended the races.

Lady Frances Cole maintained a regular circle of select friends and dinner guests. Lady Herschel later reported in a letter that the new Governor's wife was well liked: "[Lady D'Urban] is very much liked especially by the party who were not admitted to the acquaintance of Lady Frances Cole" (Herschel 36). Lisinka dined out regularly at the Bells, the Wades, and at Sir John Wylde's.

Sometimes the dinners would end with dances or "various pastimes" (22 Sept.). Held in the evenings, dances were always enjoyed. Lisinka attended a number of them at the Bells, the Pattles, the Stolls and, even, at the Mess room of the 72nd Regiment. One of Lady Frances Cole's soirées ended with an impromptu dance "that was the more

from its being unexpected " (26 Oct.). It was during the May day ball that Colonel Wade injured himself whilst dancing.

The soirées were annual, official, open-house gatherings held weekly during June/July at Government House. A notice would be printed in the Commercial Advertiser or the Government Gazette, signed by the Colonial A.D.C., inviting "those Ladies and Gentlemen who may wish to visit [Lady Frances Cole]" to visit her at nine o'clock in the evening on a certain day of the week for the following four weeks. The bands of the 72nd and the 75th Regiments alternatively attended these gatherings and, on 12 July 1831, glee singers also performed.

Since their sojourn in Mauritius Lady ^{Frances} Cole had encouraged her young daughters to play the piano and to sing:

I think you would be surprised at the progress [Florence] has made in Music, which she has not learnt more than a year & three quarters - & that with certainly no great natural taste, tho' with more than I originally thought she possessed - She has improved her ear wonderfully & she now dances quite in time ... I have begun music with Louisa much earlier seeing how much it had done for Florence's ear.⁴

At the beginning of 1828, the year that they were to leave for the Cape, young Florence Cole was reported to be able to "play well enough on the Piano Forte to be accompanied by Capt. During."⁵ Four months later Lady Frances requested her mother to "send me the Music & Drawing Books of which I have made a memorandum - The Girls, Florence particularly is [sic] making sufficient progress in both to deserve encouragement."⁶

It may have been an age of child prodigies - none more prodigious than the Hungarian boy Franz Liszt (1811-1886) who had by this time already undertaken three concert tours of England - but young Florence Cole certainly did not fall in that category. The average child who played a musical instrument proved both an advertisement for genteel education and a source of pride for parents. That it was also

an ordeal for some listeners is clear from a letter published in the South African Commercial Advertiser in 1832:

I was forced to be present at a musical 'soiree' one of the severest trials in which foreigners in England are exposed. Every mother who has grown-up daughters, for whom she has had to pay large sums to the music-master, chooses to enjoy the satisfaction of having the youthful 'talent' admired. (588: 8 Aug. 1832)

By 1830 the pianoforte was a symbol both of culture and wealth amongst the middle-class. Muzio Clementi (1752-1832) had produced in 1817 a collection of pianoforte exercises which became the standard repertoire for the "new household altar" (Johnson 130). Some of these would have been played at the Cape in 1830. That same year young Frederic Chopin (1810-1849) planned to leave Poland for Germany, and Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (1809-1847) began to write "The Solitary Island" or "Hebrides" overture in Italy. Karl von Weber and Beethoven had both died in 1826 but the latter's piano music had been transcribed for piano, as had the music of Josef Haydn (1732-1809) and Johan Hummel (1778-1837). Possibly the works played by young Florence Cole at the Cape of Good Hope would have included the published works of these composers.

Prior to the Coles's removal from the Cape in 1833, included in the list of household furniture advertised in the Commercial Advertiser was "A fine toned Grand Piano Forte, by 'Boardwood'[sic]" (644: 14 Aug. 1833). Famous in Britain at that time, 'Broadwood' pianofortes had been produced by the partnership of John Broadwood & Sons of London after 1807 (Blom 85). The firm had supplied Ludwig von Beethoven. After 1821 Broadwood and Sons included metal parts in their pianos although the one-piece iron piano frame was developed much later.

The piano was not the sole source of music in Cape Town in the early nineteenth century. Music also was provided at luncheons, soirées, dances and balls by the bands of the 72nd and 75th Regiments. Lisinka attended everything from a "Quadrille party" (20 Oct. 1830) to several regimental inspections (22 Sept.; 13 Oct.; 5 Nov. 1830), and a

Regimental Display, all of which would have featured their military bands. One piece of music, Karl Maria von Weber's (1786-1826) overture to Der Freischutz, was well received by Lisinka when it was played by the band of the 72nd Regiment. Der Freischutz had received its first performance in Berlin in June 1821 with "immense popular success" (Grout 608-9). The Opera had been performed at the Cape in 1831 by the British Amateur Company which event was announced in the Commercial Advertiser to have the services of "an Amateur Band, considerably augmented since the last performance" (456: 26 Oct. 1831).

Beyond the actual performances, both Lisinka and Lady Frances sometimes attended the various band practices. From Lisinka's journal we know that Colonel Bell was a virtuoso on the violin and enjoyed playing on special occasions (1 May 1830).

Music was heard also in the Church. However, it was not always received with satisfaction. When the Rev. Christian Latrobe, a musician himself and a friend of the late Franz Haydn's, had visited the Cape Colony in 1816 he had attended the Lutheran Church in Cape Town where the delivery of the Augsburg Confession was to be commemorated. He wrote in his journal:

I expected some ecclesiastical anthem in the good old Lutheran style, but was sadly disappointed. By way of a prelude, the organist, a very clever performer both on the piano-forte and violin, assisted by about six or eight of the military band, treated us with the middle movement of Haydn's military symphony ... a very improper preparation for religious worship. (Latrobe 299)

After a serious sermon had been delivered by the Rev. Hesse, the effects of it had been effaced, in the Reverend's opinion, when "the organist struck up the last movement of the military symphony, which half the congregation staid to hear" (Latrobe 300).

Rev. Latrobe would not have been amused by the events recorded by Lisinka one Sunday in July 1830 when "The new Organ was opened in the Dutch Church with a selection of music performed by Mr Corder on the Organ, assisted by the Band of the 72d" (11 July 1830). On that occasion it was reported in the press that about

sixteen hundred congregants of both the Dutch and the English Churches attended, including the Governor, his family and suite. The Commercial Advertiser reported that the music featured included: "one of Dr Crotch's fine Concertos", an "Organ Voluntary" written by Mr Corder himself, and the overtures to "Zaira" and "Joseph" (17 July 1830). Lisinka recorded in her journal that "the effect was very fine indeed."

If music provided a link with European culture, so did the written word. "The mass of every People must be barbarous where there is no printing:" Johnson's words had been the motto of the South African Commercial Advertiser since its first issue in January 1824. By May of that year the South African Commercial Advertiser had been suppressed. Consequently, some of the most prominent members of the Cape Town community attempted to establish a literary society. It seems that The Literary Society did not flourish and had to be revived in 1829.⁷ The papers of the South African Literary Society were opposed by the Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, who refused "to permit the establishment of an association which might have a tendency to produce political discussion."

The main reason for the lack of progress in publishing was political. Thomas Pringle (1789-1834) was given permission to establish and publish a journal on the express understanding that nothing "detrimental to the peace and safety of the Colony" was written. The first issue was published by the Government Press on 5 March 1824. Only two numbers of this publication, The South African Journal, appeared (Robinson). In the second issue an article entitled: "On the present state and prospects of the English Emigrants in South Africa" discussed critically the general indolence of the settlers, their use of slave labour, and the restrictions, monopolies and abuse of power by the local Government. The Governor's certain censure and the reluctance of the publishers to accept censorship resulted in the closure of this journal, as with the South African Commercial Advertiser.

In the meantime, William Bird (1758-1836) had published his book, State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, in Section III of which he had been scathing in his criticism of the press:

The liberty of the press is a feeling so congenial to the heart of a British subject, that it is mortifying to describe such a degraded establishment as the government printing-office at the Cape of Good Hope. The annual circle of its duties consists in printing the Cape Calendar and Almanack, and a weekly newspaper called the Cape Gazette, which is in fact a mere list of proclamations, of civil and military appointments and promotions, marriages, births, christenings, deaths, the price of articles of produce, and advertisements of sales, the notices of the sequestrator, of the orphan chamber, of the burgher senate, and other boards; all of which is extremely useful to buyers and sellers, but by no means amusing or instructive. The public is rarely indulged with a scrap of European intelligence; and when such a circumstance does take place, it consists of matter suited to the submissive state of a colony. Some account of the defeat of a popular party in a nation, some praise of a king or of a minister - some quotation from the pamphlet of an honourable member, written to persuade the public (vain attempt!) that "it is not expected that any perceptible advantage will be experienced in private life, from all the reductions in the power of any administration to propose, in the present state of the world, and the order of things in this country."

Lascelle's Letter. (Bird 58-59)

The Commercial Advertiser had resumed publication in August 1825 but had been suppressed again in May 1827 after it had published unsubstantiated charges against the Governor. Only on 3 October 1828 had it been allowed to resume publication and, by that time, Sir Lowry Cole and his suite had arrived at the Cape. It is disappointing, therefore, that no full account exists of the arrival of the new Governor and his party. A desultory paragraph on the front page of The Colonist of 9 September 1828 must suffice.

It was difficult for the average colonist to obtain firsthand news from abroad. The Subscription or Society Rooms provided "what are called in Europe, coffee-rooms,

where stale newspapers and pamphlets are to be read ... [they] are meanly and shabbily supplied" (Bird 149). At this time many ships' Captains had been elected subscribers in return for which they had been requested to loan the Rooms "any shipping or commercial intelligence or late newspapers which should be returned to them on their departure" (Immelmann 165). By September 1829 the Subscription Room had agreed to hand over all the novels it possessed to the Public Library provided the latter did not receive newspapers other than the local Cape ones and the London Gazette.

Sir Lowry Cole and his family had a privileged position regarding the receipt of firsthand news from abroad. Newspapers were passed to him upon the arrival of visiting ships. The South African Commercial Advertiser frequently recorded that "Through the kindness of some of our friends we are enabled to give the reader a summary of the principal European intelligence, which will be found in another part of to day's Paper."⁸ Usually the editorial would report: "By H.M. Ship Curlew, which arrived in Saldanha Bay on Tuesday last, English papers have been received up to the 4th of August. They are filled with interesting intelligence...."⁹ and then continue to print a single-column précis of the news.

The South African Public Library, instituted in 1820, had been housed in a wing of the Commercial Exchange building by 1830 and Sir Lowry Cole's household physician, Dr Robert Dyce M.D., had become one of its directors. "The library already boasts possession of the best ancient and most recent modern publications ... The thing that appears to be chiefly wanting ... is a collection of readers; for reading is not an African passion" (Bird 152).

At this time one of the books in great demand was George Thompson's Travels and Adventures in Southern Africa 1821-24, published in 1827 (Immelmann 166). Books published of travels in southern Africa increased so much that by 1843, when John Centlivres Chase's book, The Cape of Good Hope and the Eastern Province of Algoa Bay, was issued, he recommended that:

Persons wishing to make themselves more acquainted with the Cape Colony may advantageously consult the following authors:- Alexander,

Barrow, Banister, Barnard, Fisher, Harris, Latrobe, Martin, Moffat, Pringle, Shaw, Stedman, Thompson, and Valliant. (Chase 338)

Some members of the Commercial Exchange Library mentioned also in Lisinka's Journal included: Judge Burton, Advocate H. Cloete, Dr Robert Dyce, Baron de Lorentz, Judge Menzies, Sir A. Oliphant, and the Rev. Dr John Philip. Several of these names also were to be found on the Council and Senate of the South African College, founded on 1 September 1829, which institution was to become the University of Cape Town in 1918.

Such were the cultural, social and recreational activities in Cape Town during the years of Lisinka's sojourn. There were exceptional events: trials and tours, violent storms and mountain fires, military funerals and slaughtered whales. Lisinka's daily pleasures included walking, riding in the curricle, drinking coffee, and both writing and receiving letters which told news both of social events and the world from which they were sent.

We know that Lisinka was a prolific correspondent and that certainly it was a frustration to learn that a ship had arrived in either Table or Simon's Bay and that the mail was yet to be delivered. From Lisinka's earlier correspondence in Mauritius we know that most of her letters were addressed to Mrs Robinson, whilst most of Lady Frances's were directed to Lady Malmesbury; however, it must have been a great blow when news was received in November of Lady Malmesbury's death in August 1830. Lisinka's entry is understated, and poignant: "Fanny and I, dined together" (2 Nov. 1830).

Another death that had been reported belatedly from England was that of King George IV in late June 1830. The news had been received at the Cape in the middle of September, at which time "the Ball which was to have taken place ... at Govt House was put off" (14 Sept. 1830).

Notes

- 1 James Harris, (Lord Malmesbury's father), essay, 1766, PRO 30/43/1/1-5: 9-10.
- 2 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Mrs Robinson, 1 May 1830, PRO 30/43/9.
- 3 South African Commercial Advertiser, no. 322.
- 4 Lady Frances, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 13 Nov. 1827, PRO 30/43/32.
- 5 Lady Frances, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 29 Jan. 1828, PRO 30/43/32.
- 6 Lady Frances, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 4 May 1828, PRO 30/43/32.
- 7 Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette 16 June 1830.
- 8 South African Commercial Advertiser 16 Feb. 1831.
- 9 South African Commercial Advertiser 23 Oct. 1830.

January 1830

- Thursday 7th¹ The Bells, Major Michell, Mr Burton,² Mr Clarke Burton, Mr Schomberg, and Mr Cameron (going out as Commissioner to Clifton,) dined at Government House.
- Friday 8th Sir John and Miss Wylde,³ the Bells, Major Cloete, Captain Aitchison,⁴ Col. Arbuthnot, Mr Gisbourne and Mr Brownrigg dined here.
- Saturday 9th I paid a morning visit at Sans Souci. A family party at Dinner.⁵
- Sunday 10th Ditto ditto -⁶
- [Monday 11th Col. Fane, Majors Campbell & Baillie and Dr. Smith dined here.
- Tuesday 12th Fanny went to breakfast at Wynberg - The Bells, Captn. Pole, Mr Polwhile, & Mr Skirrow dined here.]⁷

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- 1 Lady Frances noted in her journal: "Fetched home the girls from Wynberg & Lisha from Sans Souci". (PRO 30/43/114)
 - 2 Sir William Westbrooke Burton (1794-1888), in Dec. 1827, came to the Cape where he took up the position of second puisne Judge of the new Supreme Court; his brother, Clerke Burton, who had come to the Cape with him, became Master. Sir Burton had married Margaret (née Smith) on 15 Apr. 1827. (Krüger 1:139)
 - 3 Sir John Wylde (1781-1859) achieved his Doctorate in Law at Cambridge in 1827, whereupon he was appointed Chief Justice at the Cape and was knighted. He arrived at the Cape on board the Belle Alliance in Nov. 1827, with his eldest daughter, Jane Elizabeth, and his five older sons - the rest of the family stayed with their mother, Jane Elizabeth (née Moore), it being understood that they would follow him as soon as they could. Soon after his arrival, early in 1828, he was relieved of his ex officio duties on the Council of Advice; although he continued to advise the Governor. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Mar. 1829; Krüger 2:861)
 - 4 Captain R.S. Aitchison of the Cape Mounted Rifle Corps. The 55th Regiment had been stationed in Grahamstown in September 1827 and the Mounted Riflemen under his command had rendered valuable service in the Frontier campaign. (Brinton 43)
 - 5 Lady Frances recorded: "The Boys went to Wynberg - Dined alone". (journal, PRO 30/43/144)
 - 6 Lady Frances noted in her journal: "Cloudy morning - Went to Church - on our return heard of a very serious fire in the Wood near Wynberg which set fire to Col. Fitzroy's stables & burnt them down." (PRO 30/43/114)
 - 7 This section is crossed out and then rewritten in reverse order in Lisinka's journal. She either copied these details incorrectly from a notebook or recalled them in reverse order.

- Monday 11th Mr Cameron, Mr Harries,⁸ Col. & Mrs Smith, Col. Munroe & Mr Frith⁹ dined here.
- Tuesday 12th Col. Fane, Majors Campbell & Baillie, and Dr Smith dined here.
- Wednesday 13th Fanny breakfasted at Wynberg. The Amity¹⁰ & Diadem¹¹ came in from the Mauritius. The Bells, Captn. Pole, Mr Polwhile and Mr Skirrow dined here.
- Thursday 14th The Royal George¹² came in from Mauritius bringing Col. Grant¹³ and Mrs Vicars - the former is a Guest at Govt. House - the latter dined with us. Captn. Eyre, Major Cloete & Mr MacKay dined here.
- [P14]
- Friday 15th The Bells, Col. Smith, Col. Arbuthnot, Mr Oliphant,¹⁴ Captain Molloy,¹⁵ Mr Byrne (going to the Swan River)¹⁶ & Mrs Vicars dined here. It blew a furious South Easter.

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- 8 Lady Frances noted: "Mr Harries who is come as a Settler in the Colony." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 9 Lt John Frith, of the 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1830; Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 10 The Amity had sailed from Mauritius on 20 Dec. bound for England with Government stores. (Gazette 15 Jan. 1830)
- 11 The Diadem had sailed from Mauritius on 19 Dec. bound for England with a cargo of sugar. (Gazette 15 Jan. 1830)
- 12 The fast-sailing, first-class ship Royal George (600 tons) had sailed from Mauritius on 22 Dec. and touched at Table Bay before continuing to London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Nov. 1829; 16 Jan. 1830)
- 13 Colonel Grant, of the 82nd Regiment. (Lady Frances, journal, 14 Jan. 1830, PRO 30/43/114)
- 14 Mr Anthony Oliphant (1793-1859), a Scotsman, came to the Cape on board the Sesotris in Oct. 1827, together with the brothers, W.W. Burton and Clerke Burton. He took up duties as the first Attorney- General of the Cape Colony, legal adviser to the government, and as Advocate of the Admiralty.
 He played a major role in the public life of Cape Town for more than ten years, leaving the Cape in Mar. 1839 to take up a position as Chief Justice of Ceylon. On 13 October 1828 Oliphant married Catherine Maria (née Campbell), daughter of Col. Campbell of the 72nd Regt. and they had one son, Lowry (Laurence), named after Sir Lowry Cole. (Cape Almanack 1830; South African Commercial Advertiser 18 Oct. 1828; Krüger 3:663)
- 15 Captain Molloy, his wife and family were on board the Warrior which had sailed from Portsmouth on 23 Oct. 1829; and anchored in Table Bay on 12 Jan. 1830, bound for Swan River and Sydney. (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Jan. 1830)
- 16 Actually he was Captain Byrne, as Lady Frances reported in her journal: "late of the Rifles & going to Swan River". (PRO 30/43/114) Captain and Mrs Byrne with their family were on board the Warrior. (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Jan. 1830)

- Saturday 16th A family party at dinner. I called on Mrs H. Cloete¹⁷ & Mrs Wade¹⁸ in the country. The Valley-field came in from the Mauritius.¹⁹
- Sunday 17th The Commodore arrived from Simon's Bay,²⁰ also Mr Thompson,²¹ who dined here, and Mr Bowles.
- Monday 18th The Commodore breakfasted on board the Valley-field.²² Mrs Vicar's, Col. Fane & Col. Arbuthnot dined at Govt. House.
- Tuesday 19th Mr Brownrigge's wedding day!²³ The Commodore dined at Col. Bell's. Col. Arbuthnot, Major Michell, Mr J. Brink²⁴ and Capt. Aitchison dined here.
- Wednesday 20th A Family party at dinner.
- Thursday 21st Col. Grant went away.²⁵ Mr Martindale,²⁶ Mr Chapman (agent for the Amity Transport) and the Bells dined here.

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- 17 Mr Hendrik Cloete (1758-1818) inherited Groot Constantia in 1799 from his father; his mother, Mrs Hester Anna Cloete (née Lourens) may have been living still, but it seems more likely that Lisinka visited Mrs Helen Cloete at Groot Constantia. Her baby son (born 9 Nov. 1829) was now just over two months old. (Krüger 1:171; 3:160)
- 18 Mrs Anne Wade (née Smythe) was probably a visitor also. Lt-Col. Wade, the Colonial Military Secretary, was listed officially as residing at no. 1 Keerom Street. (Cape Almanack 1831; Krüger 2:825)
- 19 A bark, the Valleyfield, had sailed from Mauritius on 26 Dec.
- 20 Commodore Schomberg of the H.M.S. Maidstone.
- 21 Lady Frances recorded "Mr Thomson (A.V.) dined". It is not certain what she meant by this abbreviation. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 22 The Valleyfield was anchored in Table Bay. Mr T. Johnson was the Captain.
- 23 Mr Marcus Freeman Brownrigg married Miss Maria Caroline Blake. The Rev. George Sturt, B.A., Colonial Chaplain at Simon's Town, conducted the ceremony at Oaklands (near Simon's Town). (South African Commercial Advertiser 23 Jan. 1830)
- 24 Mr J.G. Brink, of no. 34 Church Street, was chief clerk in the Colonial Office and assistant Secretary to Government. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 25 In a letter to Lord F. Somerset, Sir Lowry Cole had written: "Lt-Col. Grant of the 82nd Regt. having put in here on his way to England & having stated to me that his object in going home is to endeavour to get a half pay Lieut. Colonelcy." Sir Lowry added that he had "seen a good deal of him in the Mauritius." (20 Jan. 1830, PRO 30/43/97)
 The Royal George sailed on 22 Jan. with Col. Grant on board. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 26 Lt Martindale arrived at the Cape from Mauritius on board the Amity. The ship sailed for England on 18 Jan. (South African Commercial Advertiser 13 Jan. 1830)

- Friday 22nd Dr Smith dined at Govt. House. The Commodore, Captain During, Mr Balfour²⁷ and I, dined at Sir John Wylde's,²⁸ where we met the Monroes, Miss Taylor, the Bells, Col. Arbuthnot & Mr Arthur Balfour.²⁹
- Saturday 23rd Major & Mrs Dundas came.
The Bells, Captn. & Mrs Molloy,³⁰ Mr Martindale and Mr Scott dined here.
- Sunday 24th The Bells dined here.
- Monday 25th The Dundases went away. Col. Arbuthnot dined here. The Commodore dined at Mr Stoll's.
- Tuesday 26th The Commodore³¹ of the Dutch Ship Pollux³² and Captain Bigg (whom we knew formerly at Mauritius)³³ the Bells, Baron & Baroness Lorentz, Cols. Fane, Arbuthnot & Smith dined at Government House.
- Wednesday 27th The Commodore went to Simon's Town. I paid some visits in the Country with Mrs Smith. Dr Clarke,³⁴ Mr MacKay, Mr Brink, Captn. Dunlevie³⁵ and Mr Grant dined here.

- 27 Mr Francis Lowry Balfour was Colonial Aide-de-Camp to Sir Lowry Cole. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 28 Sir John Wylde lived at Hopeville Lodge, Cape Town. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 29 Mr Arthur Balfour, together with his brother Francis, and Col. Wade and his family, had arrived at the Cape on board the Boyne on 20 Dec. 1829. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 30 Captain & Mrs Molloy were having a farewell meal. Their ship, the Warrior, sailed again on 26 Jan. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 31 i.e. Commodore Wardenberg. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Jan. 1830)
- 32 The H.N.M. Ship Pollux, under Captain Eeg, arrived in Table Bay on 23 Jan. having sailed from the Texel on 16 Nov. Her destination was Batavia. (Gazette 29 Jan. 1830)
- 33 Captain Bigg was known to the family in Mauritius. Lady Frances mentions his name in a letter to her mother: "Mr Bigg talks of being here in October but I hardly expect them so soon." (2 Sept. 1823, PRO 30/43/32)
- 34 Dr Thomas Clarke was Surgeon in the 72nd Highlanders Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 35 Lt Gillespie Dunlevie was Paymaster of the 98th Regiment at the Cape of Good Hope. He went on leave to England in 1831 at which time he was still listed as a Lt. (Cape Almanack 1829-1831)

Thursday 28th Major & Mrs Michell, Mrs Wade, Mr and Mrs Dickinson, Col. Fitzroy, Mr Duthie and Mr Skirrow dined at Govt. House.

Friday 29th Colonel Carey and Mr Raymond dined here. The Falcon arrived from Algoa Bay.³⁶

Saturday 30th Major and Mrs Dundas came. Dr Smith, Dr Swaine,³⁷ & the Bells dined here.

Sunday 31st The Bells, Col. Arbuthnot, Mr Bowles, Mr Arthur Balfour, & Mr Payne, dined here.

February

Monday 1st The Pollux sailed.³⁸ The Dundases, ourselves & Mr Balfour dined [P15] at Col. Bell's.³⁹

Tuesday 2nd The Falcon sailed for Saldanha Bay - Dr Dyce went in her.⁴⁰ Ourselves, Mr Balfour, Col. Arbuthnot, Col. Wade, Captain During & Mr Miller dined at Col. Bell's.

Wednesday 3rd We dined again at Col. Bell's where we met Major & Mrs Dundas, Mr and Mrs Henry Cloete and Dr Smith.

Thursday 4th We dined at Col. Bell's. The party consisted of Mr Bird, Col. Arbuthnot, Major Cloete & Capt. Aitchison.

Friday 5th Fanny, the four Girls & myself went to Protea⁴¹ - we were unfortunately in the weather, as it began to rain very hard soon after we got there, & the night was very tempestuous, the wind which was from the north west, being louder than I ever remember to have heard (except during the

36 H.M.S. Falcon, under Captain Colpoys, sailed from Algoa Bay on 25 Jan. with four men on board from the wrecked bark Frances Watson. (South African Commercial Advertiser 3 Feb. 1830)

37 Dr S.J. Swayne, M.D., was Surgeon and Agent at the Naval Hospital in Simon's Town. (Cape Almanack 1830)

38 Her destination was Bourbon. (Gazette 5 Feb. 1830)

39 Lady Frances explained in her journal: "All our things being packed up for the Country so dined with the Bells - Went to Protea. Thunder storm in the evening - decided not to go to Protea till Friday." (PRO 30/43/114)

40 "on a cruize [sic]." (South African Commercial Advertiser 3 Feb. 1830)

41 Protea was situated on the old estate of Boschheuvel which Sir Lowry had renamed. Later Bishop Gray changed its name to Bishops court. (Knox 18; Fransen and Cook 103-5)

Hurricane at Mauritius).⁴² The Boys and Mr Cooke went to Wynberg. Mr Arthur Balfour called.

Protea

Saturday 6th A cold day with showers. The Govr. Mr Balfour, Captn. During and Mr Miller rode from Cape Town, & returned to dinner. Mr Wheatley called. Mrs William Bird, Mr Cooke and the Boys walked over from Wynberg.

Sunday 7th The Governor, Captn. During, & Mr Miller paid us a visit - also Mr Cooke and the Boys.

Monday 8th Col. Smith rode over from Simon's Town. Mr Cooke and the Boys⁴³ dined with us. Catherine paid us a visit & Col. Arbuthnot.

Tuesday 9th Mr Arthur Balfour, the Govr. Captn. During, Dr Murray, Dr Swaine & Mr MacKay called. The Boys & Mr Cooke came in the evening. We heard that the Falcon had returned.⁴⁴

Wednesday 10th Dr Dyce breakfasted at Protea.⁴⁵ Mr Cooke and the Boys came to stay with us. Mrs Blair, Mrs Lindsay, Miss Blair,⁴⁶ Mrs Wade, Major & Mrs Dundas, Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, Mrs Menzies & Mrs Steuart called.

Thursday 11th The Govr., Captain During, Majors Balfour and Miller paid us a visit. We received letters from the Mauritius.⁴⁷

Friday 12th A very rainy day. Dr Dyce came to Tiffin.

Saturday 13th Some rain in the morning and very cold and damp all day. Mrs Wade and her little Girls came to Tiffin. Col. Arbuthnot & Col. Wade called. The Governor came to stay here.

42 There were two major hurricanes at Mauritius in the time that the Coles spent there: Mar. 1824 and Wednesday 5 Mar. 1828. As she had arrived there only in 1825, Lisinka referred to the latter. (7 Mar. 1828, PRO 30/43/109/2)

43 Lady Frances noted in her journal that "The Boys came over to draw with us". (PRO 30/43/114)

44 The Falcon had sailed on 7 Feb. from Saldanha Bay with a detachment of the 98th Regiment on board. (South African Commercial Advertiser 13 Feb. 1830)

45 Dr Dyce had returned on board the Falcon the previous day.

46 Probably Miss Augusta Blair. She had a younger sister, Emma.

47 The ship La Belle Alliance, and the brig. Albion, both arrived in Table Bay on 10 Feb. having left Mauritius on 18 Jan. (South African Commercial Advertiser 13 Feb. 1830).

Sunday 14th Col. Arbuthnot came to breakfast and spent the day here. Col. Bell and Catherine paid a morning visit.

Monday 15th The Governor and Col. Arbuthnot went [P16] to Cape Town and returned to dinner. Dr Dyce, Col. Smith, Mr Brownrigg, Mrs Wilberforce Bird, Mrs W. Bird and Mrs Hare⁴⁸ called. Captain During and Mr Balfour came to stay at Protea.

We heard of the loss of the Lady Holland.⁴⁹

Tuesday 16th Col. Smith came to breakfast. Fanny went to Cape Town. Col. Arbuthnot went away. Col. and Mrs Wade called - also Mr & Mrs Menzies.

Wednesday 17th Mr Miller came to stay at Protea. Dr. Dyce called - also Mr Bolderson and Mr Warden.

Thursday 18th The Governor, Fanny, &c &c went to Cape Town.⁵⁰ I spent the day partly with Mrs Wade & Mrs Dundas & partly at Sans Souci.

Friday 19th Col. Wade & Mr & Mrs Brownrigg called. Mr MacKay & Mr Alexander⁵¹ dined here.

Saturday 20th Mr & Mrs Menzies, Mr Bolderson and Mr Warden dined here - also Dr Dyce and Mr Arthur Balfour.

48 Mrs Hare, wife of Lieutenant-Colonel John Hare. Little is known of her. (Krüger 5:327)

49 The Lady Holland, under the command of Capt. Snell, had sailed from London in Oct. 1829, bound for Madras and Calcutta. At about 22:30 on Saturday 13 February the Lady Holland struck on a reef of rocks on the north end of Dassen Island. The night was very dark and it was blowing a strong S.E. gale. The boats were manned and all the passengers and crew reached the shore at Dassen Island safely, although they were unable to secure either provisions or water. It was hoped that a portion of the cargo could be saved - much of it consisted of Madeira wine in casks.

The Constitution, and Messrs. Sinclair's boats, the Falcon, sloop, the cutter George, the Port Captain's launch, the North-wester, and several other boats went to offer assistance.

Dassen Island is about forty miles to the north-ward of Table Bay, and nearly midway between the latter and Saldanha Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Feb. 1830)

50 Lady Frances noted that they "Went to Cape Town with the Children for Masters." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

51 Captain C. Alexander was senior officer in the Royal Engineers. He and his wife lived in Wynberg. (Cape Almanack 1830)

- Sunday 21st Captain Hare⁵² called. Mr Clarke Burton dined here.
- Monday 22nd The Govr. & Fanny went to Town. Mrs Holloway,⁵³ Mrs Rogers,⁵⁴ & Mr & Mrs James Cary⁵⁵ called. Col. Arbuthnot Mr Arthur Balfour & Mr & Mrs Brownrigg dined here.
- Tuesday 23rd Mrs Nisbet & Mrs Goodison⁵⁶ called also Mrs Cloete, Dr. Dyce & Major & Mrs Dundas who dined and slept here. I dined at Sans Souci,⁵⁷ where I met, the Stewarts, Mrs and Miss Blair, Mr Warden & Mr Bolderson. Dr. Dyce went with me.
- Wednesday 24th Mr Arthur Balfour, Major Cloete, Col. Fitzroy, Captain Markham & Col. and Mrs Smith called. Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete & Major Cloete,⁵⁸ dined here.
- Thursday 25th The Governor & Fanny &c⁵⁹ went to Cape Town. I breakfasted at Col. Wade's & had my Luncheon at Mr Henry Cloete's. Dr Smith dined at Protea. Baron & Baroness Lorentz & Mrs Alexander⁶⁰ called.

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- 52 Lisinka was mistaken. Lt-Col. John Hare, CB, had led the 27th Regiment of the Inniskillings at the battle of Waterloo. He was now Commandant at the Castle in Cape Town. (Krüger 5:326) There is no evidence that Captain Robert Lind Hare was at the Cape at this time. His ship, the Caroline, had anchored in Table Bay in Nov. 1827, en route to Van Diemen's Land and Batavia. On the return trip, a year later, the Caroline did not stop at the Cape. (Hollingworth 86-92)
- 53 Lt-Col. W.C.E. Holloway was Commander of the Royal Engineers at the Cape. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 54 Mr G. Rogers was Registrar and Guardian of the Slaves and Deeds Registry Office. He and his wife lived in Wynberg. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 55 Mr James Carey was Commissioner of Stamps, Long Street, Cape Town. (Cape Almanack 1830) He married Mrs Elvira, widow of the late Rev. Robert Hutchings, on Thursday 5 Feb. 1829, in the English Church, Cape Town. (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Feb. 1829)
- 56 Rev. B. C. Goodison was Chaplain to the Forces, and acting Chaplain at Wynberg. His address was given as no. 8, Church Square. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 57 Lady Frances recorded in her journal that "Lisinka dined at Mr Menzies'" (PRO 30/43/114)
- 58 Lady Frances kept a note of the guests: "Mr & Mrs H. Cloete, Lawrence & Major Cloete dined here". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 59 Lady Frances noted that they "Went to Cape Town for the Children's Lessons. " (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 60 She was the wife of Captain C. Alexander.

- Friday 26th Sir John Wylde & Miss Wylde, Col. & Mrs Munroe & Miss Taylor, Mrs Menzies and Mrs Steuart called - also Col. Arbuthnot.⁶¹ The Lonach arrived from England.⁶²
- Saturday 27th The Bells came & Mr Arthur Balfour. Col. Arbuthnot dined & slept here. Col. Wade, Captn. Colpoys⁶³ & Dr Dyce dined here.
- Sunday 28th The Pallas arrived in Simon's Bay from India,⁶⁴ bringing Lord Combermere & his Staff.⁶⁵ Judge Burton, Mr Alexander and Col. Fane called. Mrs Menzies came.⁶⁶ Mr Goodison dined here.
- [P17]
Monday
March 1st Lord Combermere & Col. Finch⁶⁷ came. Mr & Mrs Steuart dined at Protea.
- Tuesday 2nd The Bells & Mrs Menzies went away - the latter proceeded to Stellenbosch to join Mr Menzies & accompany him on the Circuit.⁶⁸ Cols. Smith & Fane and Major Vaughan called here, and afterwards came to dinner. Col. Wade and Col. Arbuthnot also dined here.
- Wednesday 3rd The Minerva arrived, bringing Sir Thomas Franks & his family⁶⁹ - and the Isabella from Calcutta,⁷⁰ having on board Sir Thomas Bradford & Staff.⁷¹ Mrs William Bird dined here & Dr. Dyce.

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- 61 Lady Frances: "Col. Arbuthnot called on his way to Simon's Town." He returned the following day. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 62 The Lonach had sailed from Portsmouth on 2 Dec. 1829, for the Cape and Bombay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 3 Mar. 1830; Gazette 5 Mar. 1830) She brought the Coles letters to the month of November 1829. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 63 The Falcon, under the command of Capt. Colpoys, had sailed into Table Bay from Dassen Island on 25 Feb., having revisited the wreck of the Lady Holland. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 64 H.M.S. Pallas had sailed from Calcutta on 7 Jan., and Madras on 16 Jan., for the Cape and England. (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Mar. 1830; Gazette 5 Mar. 1830)
- 65 Viscount Combermere, his three aides-de-camp, military secretary, and three servants were passengers. (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Mar. 1830)
- 66 Her husband, Justice Menzies, had left Town for the Circuit Court in the morning. The Circuit would begin in Stellenbosch on 1 Mar., and end on 12 May in Swellendam. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Feb. 1830)
- 67 The Hon. Colonel Finch was Military Secretary to Viscount Combermere. He was travelling to England on board the Pallas. (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Mar. 1830)
- 68 The Circuit Court would sit next at Worcester on 5 Mar. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Feb. 1830)
- 69 The Minerva had sailed on 1 Jan. from Singapore. On board were the Hon. Sir John Franks, the Chief Justice of Calcutta, and his wife and daughter. (South African Commercial Advertiser 3, 6 Mar.; Gazette 5 Mar. 1830)

Thursday 4th We all went to Cape Town and returned to dinner. The Dundases, Capt. FitzClarence,⁷² Mr Hawkins⁷³ & Dr Dyce dined here.

Mr Hamilton came to take leave of us.⁷⁴

Friday 5th Col. Munroe, Major Hall, Major Murray (from Madras) Dr Murray, & Mr A. Balfour dined here.

Saturday 6th Col. Wade & Col. Arbuthnot breakfasted here - the latter left Protea for Simon's Town soon afterwards, much regretted by us all!⁷⁵ Sir John & Miss Wylde, Sir John, Lady & Miss Franks - Mrs Wade & Miss Saunders,⁷⁶ Mrs Henry Cloete, Mrs Dundas, Mrs Brownrigg and Mrs Stewart, called. Mr A. Balfour came. The Govr. & Captain During accompanied Lord Combermere & Col. Finch to Simon's Town. Col. Smith called.

Sunday 7th Fanny, Florence, Mr Balfour & Mr Miller went to Cape Town⁷⁷ & returned home to dinner - The Governor & Captain During came back from Simon's Town - The Pallas sailed about ten o'clock.⁷⁸ Dr Dyce dined and slept here.

- 70 The Isabella had sailed from Bombay on 11 Dec. 1829 for the Cape and London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Mar. 1830)
- 71 Sadly, Sir Thomas Bradford's wife had died at sea on 14 Feb. 1830. Sir Thomas was returning to England from his command of the Bengal Army. (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Mar. 1830)
- 72 Captain Fitz Clarence, commander of the H.M.S. Pallas, had arrived on 28 Feb. They sailed for England on 7 Mar. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 73 Mr William Hawkins (1758-1836) was the third and final English East India Company Agent at the Cape, from 1823-1836. (Arkin 223-24)
- 74 Mr Hamilton was to embark on H.M.S. Pallas for England on leave of absence. The ship sailed on 7 Mar. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 Mar. 1830; Cape Almanack 1831)
- 75 Lady Frances wrote of this farewell in her journal: "Col. Arbuthnot breakfasted & stayed the evening with us to take leave, then proceeded to embark in the Pallas for England - Mr Hamilton also went in her." (PRO 30/43/114)
- 76 Miss Saunders had been a passenger on board the ill-fated Lady Holland, wrecked on the northern shore of Dassen Island on 13 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Feb. 1830)
- 77 Lady Frances breakfasted with her sister, Catherine Bell; then took her turn at the well-attended Sunday School meeting. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 78 She sailed from Simon's Bay for England. (Gazette 12 Mar. 1830)

Monday 8th The Governor &c went to Cape Town. I paid visits at Wynberg. Major Cloete dined at Protea. The John arrived from the Mauritius, & brought some letters.⁷⁹

Tuesday 9th Catherine brought Mr Farquason to pay a morning visit.⁸⁰ The Wades, Miss Saunders, Col. Fane and Mr Petrie,⁸¹ dined here.

Wednesday 10th Mr Andrew Laing (from Mauritius)⁸² dined here. The Espoir came in.⁸³

Thursday 11th The Govr. Fanny &c &c went to Town,⁸⁴ Miss Lightfoot returned with them. Dr. Dyce dined and slept here.

Friday 12th Captn. Greville dined & slept at Protea.⁸⁵

Saturday 13th Mr Arthur Balfour came. Mr & Mrs Lascales and Miss Molesworth (passengers of the Lady Holland)⁸⁶ & Mr Baillie dined here.

[P18]

Sunday 14th⁸⁷

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- 79 The John had sailed from Mauritius on 13 Feb. for the Cape and London. She carried a small mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 Mar. 1830)
- 80 Mr Farquharson was Captain of the Victory which had sailed from Calcutta on 16 Dec. 1829, bound for London. Mrs Farquharson accompanied him. (Gazette 12 Mar. 1830)
- 81 Deputy Commissioner General Petrie, his wife, two sons and a daughter, arrived in Table Bay from Portsmouth on board the Lonach on 26 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 3 Mar. 1830; Gazette 5 Mar. 1830) The ship sailed on 7 Mar., therefore it seems that the Petries stayed at the Cape. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 82 Mr Andrew Laing was on board the John. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 Mar. 1830) He was, as Lady Frances wrote, "brother to Mr Laing of Mauritius." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 83 The H.M.S. Espoir, under the command of Captain Greville, had sailed from St. Helena on 14 Feb. bound for Table Bay. The ship was later to sail on to Simon's Bay. (Gazette 12 Mar. 1830)
- 84 Lady Frances recorded in her journal: "Went to Cape Town for the Children's Masters." (PRO 30/43/114)
- 85 He was to sail the next day on board the Espoir for Simon's Bay. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 86 The Lady Holland had been shipwrecked on Dassen Island. The passengers had been brought in to Table Bay on board the Falcon on 17 February. (South African Commercial Advertiser 20 Feb. 1830)
- 87 Lady Frances noted the weather in her journal: "Heavy cloudy morning with some rain - Very dark & close all day - with Thunder showers - Hard rain & Lightning in the evening - Went to Church at Wynberg." (PRO 30/43/114)

Monday 15th Fanny took Miss Lightfoot to Town. The Commodore came from Simon's Town. Mr Bolderson and Mr Warden dined here. Dr. Dyce dined and slept at Protea.

Tuesday 16th Major & Mrs Dundas paid their farewell visit at Protea.⁸⁸

Wednesday 17th⁸⁹ Col. and Mrs Smith, Capt. Greville, George Harris and Mr Egerton, came.⁹⁰ Col. & Mrs Wade, Mr Frith and Mr A. Balfour dined here.

Thursday 18th Every body went to Town,⁹¹ excepting Mrs Smith and myself, & returned to dinner. Capt. Markham & Mr Campbell dined here.

Friday 19th Mr Robinson, Mr Payne & Mr Baillie called. Mr Marsh⁹² & Dr. Dyce dined here.

Saturday 20th Col. & Mrs Smith went away.- Captain Colpoys & Mr John Stoll called. Major Michell dined here.

Sunday 21st Dr Dyce dined and slept here. The Premium⁹³ & Luna⁹⁴ arrived from England, and brought a large mail.

The Dundases sailed in the Royal Saxon.⁹⁵

88 "Major Dundas, intending shortly to leave the Colony, will dispose by Public Auction on Monday, the 21st inst., at the House at present occupied by him in the Heerengracht, all his Household Furniture, and other effects." (South African Commercial Advertiser 16 Dec. 1829)

89 Lady Frances entered the occasion in her journal: St. Patrick's Day. Her husband was an Irishman. (PRO 30/43/114)

90 All three of them "came from Simon's Bay." PRO 30/43/114

91 Lady Frances wrote: "Went up after breakfast to Cape Town for the Children's Masters." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

92 Lady Frances recorded: "Mr Marsh from Saldanha Bay" (PRO 30/43/114) Mr George Marsh, resident at Saldanha Bay, was Justice of the Peace and Resident Magistrate for the Cape District. (Cape Almanack 1830-31)

93 The Premium had sailed from London on 3 Jan. for the Cape. (Cape Almanack 1831) She brought "letters & papers to the beginning of January." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114; South African Commercial Advertiser 24 Mar. 1830)

94 The Luna had sailed from Newcastle on 2 Jan. for the Cape. She carried no mail. (Cape Almanack 1831; South African Commercial Advertiser 24 Mar. 1830)

95 The Royal Saxon sailed for England. (Cape Almanack 1831)

- Monday 22nd The Governor, Commodore and Captn. Greville went to Town, the former returned to dinner. Catherine came to Protea. Dr. Smith dined and slept.
- Tuesday 23rd Catherine and I, paid some visits at Wynberg. Col. & Mrs Wade, Captn. and Mrs Hare, Col. Fane and Mrs William Bird dined here.
- Mr Miller went away.
- Wednesday 24th⁹⁶ Mr Bolderson,⁹⁷ Mr Warden, Mrs Blair, Mrs Balston,⁹⁸ Captn. Eyre, Major Vaughan, Mr Wolfe⁹⁹ and Major Hall called.
- Thursday 25th Everyone went to Town,¹⁰⁰ but Mr Cooke and myself, but returned to dinner - Captain Greville, Captain Eyre, the Commodore, Dr. Dyce and Mr Arthur Balfour came. Mr Miller dined here.
The Simpson arrived from the Mauritius¹⁰¹ having Monr & Madame Lachenadiere on board and bringing some letters.
- Friday 26th Monr. & Madame Lachenadiere and their Son, and Captn. Warren¹⁰² dined here.
- Saturday 27th Catherine and Col. Bell came here. Dr. Dyce dined here.
- Sunday 28th Monsr. & Madame Lachenadiere and their Son dined here. Dr. Dyce dined & slept at Protea.

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- 96 Lady Frances witnessed "a very partial Eclipse of the Sun visible". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 97 "Mr S.M. Boulderson, being about to leave the Colony...." (South African Commercial Advertiser 24 Mar. 1830) He left the Cape late in Mar.
- 98 Mr I. Balston was the Master of the Free School, and Postmaster, Clerk and Bell-ringer in Wynberg. (Cape Almanack 1831)
 Mr G.F. Balston was Chief Clerk at the Naval Office, Simon's Town. (Cape Almanack 1831) It is uncertain to which of these gentlemen Mrs Balston was married.
- 99 Lt Richard Wolfe, of the 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 100 Lady Frances noted: "Went to Cape Town for the children's Masters". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 101 The Simpson had sailed from Mauritius on 1 Mar. for the Cape and London, with a cargo of sugar. She carried mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Mar. 1830)
- 102 Captain Warren of the Simpson, which had arrived on 25 Mar. in Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Mar. 1830)

Monday 29th The Commodore went away; also the Bells, & Mr Arthur Balfour. The Govr. went to Town. A family party at dinner.

Mrs Hawkins¹⁰³ and Miss Pigott¹⁰⁴ called.

Tuesday 30th The Dutch Commissioner from Java and four of his Staff,¹⁰⁵ Col. Smith & Major Cloete dined here.
George Harris and Gifford came from Simon's Town.

[P19]

Wednesday 31st Captain Greville went away.

April 1st The Farne arrived from Mauritius.¹⁰⁶

Thursday We all went to Cape Town and returned to dinner.¹⁰⁷ Dr. Dyce, Mr Kennedy,¹⁰⁸ and Mr Powel,¹⁰⁹ dined and slept here.

Friday 2d Captain Pole came to breakfast. The Govr. and Dr. Dyce went to Town. Mrs Bird & Mrs William Bird called.

Saturday 3d Mr Powel went away. Sir John and Miss Wylde came, & Mr A. Balfour.

Sunday 4th Fanny went to Cape Town to attend the Sunday School;¹¹⁰ and returned with Col. & Catherine Bell, and Dr. Dyce.

103 Mrs Eliza Hawkins (née Pigott), wife of Mr William Hawkins, the English East India Company representative at the Cape. (Krüger 1:354) Her family was reputed to be "among the 'top' families in Cape society during the Twenties and early Thirties". (Arkin 222)

104 Miss Pigott was most likely Miss Catherine Mary Pigot (1803?-1863), "Kate", elder daughter of Major George Pigot and sister of Sophia Pigot, the diarist. Mrs Eliza Hawkins (née Pigott) was undoubtedly her relative. (Rainier)

105 H.N.M. Ship Bellona, under the command of Captain Dibbets, was en route from Batavia to Texel with His Excellency Viscount Du Bus de Gesignies, Commisary-General for the Oriental Affairs of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, and his Suite, on board. (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Mar. 1830)

106 The Farne had sailed on 6 Mar. for Table Bay and London, with a cargo of sugar and a small mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 3 Apr. 1830)

107 Lady Frances: "Went there for the Children's Masters." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

108 Mr Kennedy was off the H.M.S. Falcon which had arrived in Simon's Bay on 31 Mar. from Table Bay. She was to sail back to Table Bay on 2 Apr. (Cape Almanack 1831; Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

109 Mr Powell was off the H.M.S. Espoir which was to sail from Simon's Bay on 4 Apr. (Cape Almanack 1831)

110 Lady Frances noted that it was "Mrs Hall's Sunday". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Monday 5th Col. Bell¹¹¹ & Dr. Dyce went away. The Dutch Civil Commissary called to take leave.¹¹² Sir John Wylde went away.
- Tuesday 6th Miss Wylde went away, her father having sent for her on account of the arrival of the *Leda* from Mauritius, having three of her Brothers on board.¹¹³ Mrs Blair, Mrs Lindsay, Miss Blair, Major Hall & Mr Baillie dined here. Mr A. Balfour came.
- Wednesday 7th Mr Kennedy went away.
Catherine returned to Cape Town. All the family, with the exception of myself, went to Hout's Bay - Mrs W. Bird, two Miss Hares and Mr Charles Hare¹¹⁴, were of the party.¹¹⁵
- Thursday 8th All the family except Mr Cooke & myself, went to Cape Town, and returned to dinner.¹¹⁶ Major Michell and Mr Miller dined here.
- Friday 9th¹¹⁷ Little Fanny's Birthday.¹¹⁸
- Saturday 10th Fanny's Birthday was kept and about 10 children invited to dine with her. The Bells came - Mrs William Bird, Mr Charles Hare¹¹⁹, Dr. Dyce and Mr Miller dined here.
- Sunday 11th Mr Brownrigg dined here.
- Monday 12th I went to Cape Town, and brought back Mrs Oliphant - Mr Oliphant came also. Mr Baillie dined here. Dr Kell came.
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- 111 "Col. Bell went to Town with Lowry." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 112 The H.N.M. Ship *Bellona* was to sail on 7 Apr. (*Cape Almanack* 1831)
- 113 The bark, *Leda*, had sailed from Mauritius on 13 Mar. for Table Bay, with the three Masters Wylde on board. (*South African Commercial Advertiser* 10 Apr. 1830) Lady Frances recorded that the Wylde brothers were "just arrived from N.S. Wales". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 114 Lt-Col. John Hare's children: Charles, Caroline, and Isabella. (Lisinka, journal, PRO 30/43/121)
- 115 Tom Wade and Arthur Balfour were also with them. They had "Tiffin there". (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 116 Lady Frances: "Went to Town for the Children's Masters." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 117 It was Good Friday. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 118 Lady Frances recorded: "Bee's Birthday" (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Little Frances Cole was six years old.
- 119 Mr Charles Hare was the son of Lt-Col John Hare.

The Boys & Mr Cooke went to Simon's Town.

Tuesday 13th Col. Fane & Dr Clarke dined here. Dr Kell went away.

Wednesday 14th The Bells went away. Captain Finch, Mr Stewart and Dr Maloney (belonging to the American Frigate)¹²⁰ Captain Bance, Dr. Dyce and Mr A. Balfour dined here.

Thursday 15th The Oliphants went away. The Govr., Captain During and Mr Balfour dined at the Commercial Dinner.¹²¹ Mr Carter came. Mrs W. Bird dined at Protea.

Friday 16th The Govr. reviewed the 98th Regiment¹²² [P20] and returned to Protea to dinner.

Saturday 17th Mr Carter went away. Col. Fane called to take leave.¹²³ Mr Kekewich¹²⁴ and Captain Coghlan (of the Madeline)¹²⁵ dined here.

120 The United States Corvette, Vincennes, had sailed from Manila on 9 Feb. for the United States. She put into Table Bay for refreshments on 8 Apr. Captain W.B. Finch was her commander. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 Apr. 1830)

121 The Annual Commercial Dinner took place at the George's Hotel that evening. Present were about ninety persons including the Governor, Mr Justice Burton, the Brazilian Consul General to the East Indies - Mr A.G. de Silveira - and Captain Finch of the United States Corvette, Vincennes. The Band of the 72nd Regt. played, and Mr Hamilton Ross was the President. Sir Lowry and the greater number of visiting gentlemen retired after the official toasts had been proposed.

In one of many speeches, Mr Wilberforce Bird commented on the improvements in the Colony since the last Dinner: the march of Education, the civilisation of the Hottentots through the work of the Missionaries, the formation of an Infant School, the founding of the College, and the establishment of the Public Library. The Attorney-General's sense of racy humour (Mr A. Oliphant) was noted with appreciation. (South African Commercial Advertiser 21 Apr. 1830)

122 The morning Review took place at Green Point. It was rumoured in the Commercial Advertiser that the 98th Regiment was about to proceed to the Frontier. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Apr. 1830)

123 Lt-Colonel Fane, 98th Regt., was about to leave the Colony to return to England. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Apr. 1830) The 98th Regiment was to proceed shortly to the Frontier. (South African Commercial Advertiser 21 Apr. 1830)

124 The Hon. Mr Justice Kekewich (1778-1862) was third Puisne Judge at the Cape from 1828 until his retirement in 1843. (Krüger 2:359)

125 Captain F.R. Coghlan commanded the Madeline which had sailed from Singapore on 15 Feb. for London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Apr. 1830)

- Sunday 18th Fanny went to Cape Town to attend the Sunday School;¹²⁶
Catherine and Mr Duncan (a cousin of Col. Bell's) returned with her.
- Monday 19th The Governor went to Town¹²⁷ - also Catherine and Mr Duncan.
Dr. Dyce called to see me as I was unwell. The Boys & Mr Cooke returned.
- Tuesday 20th Col. & Mrs Wade dined here. Many Visitors.
- Wednesday 21st Fanny and the elder girls went to Cape Town.¹²⁸ Dr.
Dyce called; also Col. Fitzroy, Mr Steuart and Mr Blair.
- Thursday 22nd The rest of the family went to Cape Town.¹²⁹ We all dined at
Col. Bell's, accompanied by Mr & Mrs Oliphant who are staying at Govt.
House.
- Friday 23rd¹³⁰ A most beautiful day, but uncommonly hot for the Season. The
events of the day commenced about eleven o'clock, when the procession of Free
Masons for the Lodge¹³¹ passed by Govt. House in their way to Church.¹³² His
Excellency with all his Staff joined them on Horseback. At about twelve all our
party, consisting besides our own family of Lady Mary Fitzroy & her Children,
Miss Mouton and the little Wades, Mrs Oliphant & Mrs Bance, proceeded in
four carriages to the Consecrated Ground¹³³ - A stand had been erected there
for the accommodation of Fanny & her invited Friends, consisting of about

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- 126 Lady Frances noted in her journal: "Went in to breakfast with Catherine & go to the Sunday
School for Lisinka - took Florence with me." (PRO 30/43/114)
- 127 Lady Frances entered in her journal that "Lowry went into Town for his reception". (PRO
30/43/114)
- 128 Florence and Louisa went with Lady Frances "to prepare for the Birthday." (journal, PRO
30/43/114)
- 129 Lady Frances added: "Lowry, Lisinka & all the Children came in from Protea for the
Birthday." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 130 It was St. George's Day. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 131 The Provincial Grand Lodge was held in the Temple of "The Goede Hoop" at 09:00. (South
African Commercial Advertiser 10 Apr. 1830) About 400 members attended. (South
African Commercial Advertiser 28 Apr. 1830)
- 132 Divine Service was performed in the Dutch Reformed Church at 11:30, the sermon being
preached by the Rev. George Hough, A.M. Colonial, and Provincial Grand Chaplain. For
this occasion the front of the new Organ (being installed) was opened for the first time to
public view, adding to the splendour. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10, 28 Apr.
1830)
- 133 The late Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. James, had in 1827, whilst visiting Cape Town, prompted
a plan for erecting an English Church by subscription. Until this Church could be completed
however, the Services for the English Episcopalian Community were held in the Dutch
Reformed Church, with kind permission. (Cape Almanack 1830)

sixty Ladies, exactly opposite to the Foundation Home - the crowd of people in the Streets was very great - and the rush to the door, which opened into the space, where the ceremony of laying the stone was to be performed, very tremendous; for the moment Fanny had taken her Seat, every body else was admitted - I was in the last Carriage with Mrs Oliphant & Mrs Bance and we had a tremendous struggle to get in. The Ground chosen for the site of the Church is part of the Garden belonging to Govt. House it has a beautiful view of the Table Mountain and Lion's Head. On the present occasion the ground was filled by a very decent and orderly assemblage of people standing on the heaps of earth which had been thrown up, when the foundation was dug. Part of the space left for the future Church, was now boarded so as to make a good sized Platform, on which was placed a large Table covered with a green cloth and two Chairs - one for his Excellency and the other for the Grand Master, Sir John Truter.¹³⁴

[P21] The Procession arrived from the Dutch Church, about one o'clock - & when the different Members of it had taken their places - the ceremony began by the singing of an Anthem.¹³⁵ Then the Chaplain of the Order (Mr Hough),¹³⁶ supported on each side by the Revd Mr Goodison,¹³⁷ & the Revd. Mr Fellowes,¹³⁸ approached the Stone, the upper part of which was a little raised, and repeated a Prayer, imploring the blessing of the Almighty on the work then about to be commenced. The Grand Master¹³⁹ and the Govr. then approached the Stone into which had been previously deposited by the Grand Treasurer, a Box containing the Inscription (stating when & by whom the foundation Stone was laid) and various Coins - A silver Trowel was then presented by the Grand Master to the Govr. who taking some fine mortar from a Kod held by a Fellow Craft Mason, filled up the vacancy left for the Box - & then he and the Grand Master returned to their Seats - the upper part of the Stone was then very slowly let down; then His Excellency and the Grand Master again approached the Stone, when the latter, successively handed to the former, the Square, the Level, and the Plumb Line, which being applied by His Excellency, he pronounced the work "to be well formed, true and trusty" - the Grand Master then had presented to him in succession, the Cornucopia & the silver vessels containing Wine & Oil; strewing from the first, Corn, on the Stone and then pouring out Oil and Wine & pronouncing this Prayer: "May the all bounteous Author of Nature, bless the Inhabitants of this place with all the necessary conveniences and comforts of Life - assist in the erection and completion of this building - protect the Workmen from every accident and long preserve this structure from decay; and grant to us all, in needed supply, the Corn of Nourishment, the Wine of Refreshment, and the Oil of Joy! "Amen - "So mite it be" - these last words, were spoken by the Brethren. A Mallet was presented to his Excellency, by the

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- 134 Sir John Truter had been installed as Provincial Grand Master of all the Lodges in South Africa on Monday 12 Jan. 1829. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Jan. 1829)
- 135 The Anthem was: "When earth's foundation first was laid". (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Apr. 1830)
- 136 The Rev. G. Hough, M.A. (late Fellow of Pembroke College, Oxford), was Senior Colonial Chaplain of the English Church. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 137 The Rev. B.C. Goodison, A.M., was the Past Provincial Grand Chaplain. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Apr. 1830)
- 138 The Rev. Fearon Fallowes, A.M., was the Provincial Grand Chaplain. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Apr. 1830)
- 139 i.e. The Right Worshipful Sir J.A. Truter, Kt., Provincial Grand Master. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Apr. 1830)

Grand Master, with this, he knocked upon the Stone three Times. Immediately all the Brethren, threw up their Hands three times and then clapped them;¹⁴⁰ at the same moment. The Royal Salute was fired from the Castle - and thus the work of laying the Corner Stone was completed. +

The Silver Trowel was presented to His Excellency, by Sir John Truter with a Speech /which I did not hear/ & which he answered by a Bow.

The Govr. & Grand Master then returned to their seats¹⁴¹ - where they examined & approved, the plan for the Building - An Oration was then delivered in a very audible voice by the Master of the Hope Lodge (Mr Clarke Burton) naming the most celebrated [P22] Free Masons, from the time of Julius Caesar to the present day, & their most remarkable Works, from the building of the Tower of London to St. Paul's Cathedral. After which an Anthem was Sung - which concluded this really very interesting & pretty ceremony.¹⁴² - At three his Excellency held a Levee which was very numerously attended - At half past three, Fanny, Catherine, Ly. Mary and myself, attended by Col. Bell and Judge Burton, went to see the dinner given by the latter to the Children of the Sunday School, in memory of the Day. About 90 sat down to an excellent repast of Roast Beef and Plum Pudding - they then drank a Toast given by the President (Mr Hough) "Church and King!" with three times three - in very good style - and, after we had left the room - "The Govr. and Lady Frances Cole" was drunk with enthusiasm. At six o'clock, the Govr. went to inspect the Troops & see the Firing which sounded magnificently amongst the Mountains. At nine, the company began to assemble for the Ball,¹⁴³ which was kept up with great spirit till half past two. The supper was exceedingly well arranged - and the Stoup and entrance to the House very prettily ornamented under the superintendence of Col. Wade.¹⁴⁴

Saturday 24th We all returned to Protea,¹⁴⁵ to our great joy for the heat of Cape Town was excessive.

Sunday 25th A very hot day. Mr Cook read Prayers to us at home.¹⁴⁶ Dr. Dyce and Mr A. Balfour dined and slept here.

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- 140 i.e. The Public Honours of Masonry. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Apr. 1830)
- 141 The Bands of the 72nd and the 98th Regiments struck up the National Anthem of "God save the King" at this point. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Apr. 1830)
- 142 Originally called Venus street, Berg street was hereafter to be renamed St. George's street. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Apr. 1830; Picard 89)
- 143 It was "the Birthday Ball". (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 144 The pillars had been wreathed with flowers, the verandah had been enclosed to form one of the supper rooms, and the flags from the H.M.S. Maidstone had been hung as decoration. (Lisinka, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 1 May 1830, PRO 30/43/9)
- 145 Lady Frances Cole adds: "where we were alone". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 146 Lady Frances recorded that it was a "Very hot & oppressive day - so much so that we did not go to Church - Mr Cooke performed Divine Service at home." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Monday 26th A very hot day with a hot wind. All the Gentlemen went to Cape Town¹⁴⁷ and returned to dinner. Mr Miller and the Bells returned with the Governor.

Tuesday 27th Sir Lowry, Fanny and the rest of the party, with the exception of Mr Balfour, Mr Cooke and myself, went to Cape Town to attend the Races;¹⁴⁸ and returned to dinner. The Commodore and Captn. Colpoys came also.

Wednesday 28th Captn. Colpoys, Dr. Dyce & Mr Miller went away. Mr Silviera (the Brazilian Consul) and Major Michell, dined here.

Thursday 29th Every Body went into Cape Town¹⁴⁹ but Captn. During, Mr Cooke & myself. Captain Colpoys dined & slept here.

Friday 30th I went with Fanny, the Govr. &c &c to the Races; which were well attended but the sport was not very good.¹⁵⁰ The Commodore returned with us to Protea.

147 Lady Frances noted in her journal that "Lowry went to Town for his reception." (PRO 30/43/114)

148 The Autumn Meeting of the S.A. Turf Club commenced on this day with the Untried Purse and the Indian Purse. Lady Frances commented: "bad sport". (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Apr. 1830; journal, PRO 30/43/114)

149 Lady Francis: "Went up to Town with the Children for Masters." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

150 The third day of the Races featured His Excellency the Governor's Plate, and a Handicap Plate. Lady Frances Cole wrote: "bad sport & very hot in the Stand" (journal, PRO 30/43/114) The Commercial Advertiser reported: "There was very little sport on this occasion; and few Cape Races ever passed off so flatly." (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 May 1830)

Saturday May 1st¹ A very numerous party of [P23*] Children, consisting of Wades, Hares, Birds, Cloetes,² dined together to celebrate this day³ - The Govr's Health proposed by Tom Wade,⁴ & "The Ladies of the Colony" - by Arthur, were drunk with "enthusiasm". At five a party of grown up persons, sat down to dinner -that is, Col. & Mrs Wade, Col. & Mrs Smith, Col. Bell and Catherine, Dr. Murray, Dr. Dyce, Mr Miller, Miss Mouton, Mr Arthur Balfour, Mr Pritchard and the family party - At seven, the doors of the entrance Hall, were thrown open and his Excellency, was met by all the young people, who conducted him to his Seat in a Bower, where he was crowned with garlands by Fanny & Henrietta, whilst James recited some lines written for the occasion by Arthur; immediately afterwards, dancing commenced with great spirit, small & great, joining in the amusement. The evening party was augmented by the arrival of Captn. & Mrs Hare, young Hare⁵, Mrs William Bird, Mr Blake, Mr & Mrs Steuart & Mr & Mrs Oliphant.

The mirth of the party was sadly damped towards the close of the evening by an accident which Col. Wade met with whilst gaily dancing the Coquette - he broke the Tendon Achilles, and [P24] was carried out of the room in great pain - happily Dr. Dyce was present, who instantly bound up his Foot, and then he went home with Mrs Wade. Most of the company went away soon after ten o'clock - but after that hour a few choice spirits recommenced dancing - & reels, Irish Jiggs & a minuet were danced in excellent style! Col. Bell playing on the Violin with much animation. A supper for the Servant's concluded this "merry day" - and all was peace & quietness before twelve o'clock.

¹ A copy of Miss Cozens's letter to Mrs Robinson dated 1 May 1830, is printed in Appendix A (PRO 30/43/9).

² Lady Frances Cole added: "Michells & Lawrence Cloete" (journal, PRO 30/43/114).

³ It was the Governor's fifty-seventh birthday (Cole and Gwynn 117).

⁴ Lisinka called him: "little Tom Wade" (letter to Mrs Robinson, 1 May 1830, PRO 30/43/9). The eldest son, Thomas later became an authority on Chinese and married Amelia Herschel, the daughter of Sir John Herschel (Krüger 2:824).

⁵ i.e. Master Charles Hare.

[P23*]

MAY 1ST 1830

Protea
Cape Town

All hail, thou merry first of May !
 Let Shouts of Joy, awake the day,
 Welcom'd in Northern climes with mirth
 But fair to us, in all the Earth !
 But fairer far for this, than all
 Being Papasey's Festival !
 Three welcomes then, thou merry day,
 And may it be for ever gay
 Whilst we, his Children small & great
 Receive him with becoming state
 And still we'll wish long life be giv'n
 With ev'ry blessing under Heaven !

Arthur Lowry Cole
 Poet Laureate to the Court of Protea.
 South Africa.

To the Coquettes, Male & Female at Protea
 by Col. Wade

Dearest friends one & all
 Young and old, great & small
 Be advised and give over your tricks !
 Though secure be the Heart
 Yet you know there's one part
 Which cannot be dipped in the Styx !

What tho' ruthless you fight
 And wound hearts left & right
 Whilst a pang your own bosoms ne'er feel
 Yet take warning by me,
 E'en experience you see
 May at length be tripped up by the heel !

- Sunday 2d We had a good account of Col. Wade this morning.
- Monday 3d Mr Arthur Balfour & the Commodore went away. Captn. During went on a shooting Excursion. Mr & Mrs Burton came. Major Hall dined here.
- Tuesday 4th Col. & Lady Mary Fitzroy who were to have come to Protea, put themselves off on account of Augustus⁶ having broke [sic] his arm. Mr Clarke Burton, Dr. Dyce and Mr Miller dined & slept at Protea.
- Wednesday 5th The Bells and the Burtons went away. Since Sunday part of the Table Mountain has been on fire & still continues burning.⁷ At night the effect is very beautiful, the tops of the rocks being fringed with light, like a magnificent row of gas lamps.
- Thursday 6th⁸ The Governor and Mr Balfour⁹ went to Town, Major Cloete returned with them to dinner and slept at Protea.
- Friday 7th Col. Fitzroy came to breakfast. Major Cloete went away. Dr. Dyce called.
- Saturday 8th The Bells came. Mr & Mrs Hawkins, Miss Pigott¹⁰, Mr & Mrs Fallowes,¹¹ Mr Wimberley¹² and Dr. Dyce dined here. Captn. During returned.
-
- 6 i.e. Mr Augustus FitzRoy.
- 7 Lady Frances recorded in her journal: "These Fires occur frequently, but this one is of greater extent than has been known for some years." (PRO 30/43/114)
 "The dry grass and brush-wood ... was set on fire ... by some mischievous individuals. The conflagration gradually spread along the face of the mountain, and over towards Camp's Bay." (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 May 1830)
- 8 Lady Frances wrote in her journal that it was "A very unpleasant day - high hot wind with clouds of Dirt." (PRO 30/43/114)
- 9 i.e. Mr Francis Lowry Balfour, Sir Lowry's Aide-de-Camp.
- 10 i.e. Miss Catherine "Kate" Pigot.
- 11 Stationed at the Royal Observatory, the Rev. Fearon Fallows, A.M., F.R.S., (1789-1831) late Fellow of St. Johns, Cambridge, was His Majesty's Astronomer at the Cape from 12 Aug. 1821, when he arrived in Simon's Bay, until his death on 25 July 1831. His wife, Mary Anne (née Hervey), was his chief helper after his Assistant, Captain W. Ronald, took sick leave and sailed for England on 18 Oct. 1830, never to return. Commodore Schomberg wrote of her: "had it not been for Mrs Fallows' efforts, some of his very important observations would have failed on different occasions." (Warner, Astronomers 29)
- 12 The Rev. Mr C. Wimberley and his wife had arrived on board the ship, Arabian, on 16 Jan. 1830. She was sailing from Calcutta to Bristol. The Wimberleys' destination was Cape Town. (South African Commercial Advertiser 20 Jan. 1830) Lady Frances recorded: "Mr

- Sunday 9th The Sincapore¹³ & Henry¹⁴ came in from England.
- Monday 10th The Govr., Col. Bell &c went to Town. A very rainy day.
Arthur Balfour came.
- Tuesday 11th Arthur Balfour went to Simon's Town. Dr. Dyce called. Another
rainy day.¹⁵ The William Young came in, from Mauritius.¹⁶
- Wednesday 12th Dr. Dyce called.
- Thursday 13th The Governor &c went to Town; and brought back with him, Mr
Warden and Mr Miller who dined and slept here. Captn. Markham also dined
here.
- Friday 14th Dr. Dyce dined & slept here.
- Saturday 15th¹⁷ The Bells, Mr & Mrs Stoll and George Harris, came. Mr & Mrs
Wilberforce Bird dined here.
- Sunday 16th Very violent wind in the night & a great deal of rain in the day.¹⁸
We heard that [P25] Mrs Wade had been taken suddenly and alarmingly ill on
Saturday night - but was now out of danger.

Wimberley (from India)". (journal PRO 30/43/114) He became Acting English Chaplain
(half pay) at Simon's Town in 1831. (Cape Almanack 1831)

- 13 The brig Singapore, sailed from the Downs on 15 Feb. for Table Bay with a large mail.
(South African Commercial Advertiser 12 May 1830)
- 14 The bark Henry sailed from Deal on 14 Feb. for Table Bay with a large mail. (South
African Commercial Advertiser 12 May 1830)
- 15 "We are happy to learn that the late salutary rains have extended throughout the Cape
District, and that the Farmers have already begun to plough in all directions. Although
rather late in the season, the ground is said to be so well saturated, that no inconvenience
will now be felt." (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 May 1830)
- 16 The William Young had sailed from Mauritius on 14 Mar., with a cargo of sugar and some
mail. Her destination was London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 May 1830)
- 17 Lady Frances recorded: "Fine day - The Barometer fell much during the day - Wind NW in
the evening." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 18 "The weather has been boisterous, accompanied with much rain, for some days. On Sunday
morning, and on Tuesday, doubts were entertained as to the safety of the shipping in the
Bay; but in the afternoon the wind veered to the South West with a copious fall of rain, and
quieted all apprehensions on this head for the present." (South African Commercial
Advertiser 19 May 1830)

- Monday 17th Another blowing night and rainy day. The Bells and the Stolls went away. The Govr. &c went as usual to Town.
- Tuesday 18th Wind and rain again; with Thunder & Lightning
- Wednesday 19th The weather improving but very cold Miss Mouton and the little Wades spent the day here. The Commodore & Captn. Greville arrived from Simon's Town.¹⁹
- Thursday 20th The Govr. Fanny the Commodore &c &c went to Town - every body returned but the Commodore. Dr. Dyce called. I called on Mrs Menzies who returned to Sans Souci on Tuesday.²⁰
- Friday 21st The Menzies called at Protea.
- Cape Town
- Saturday 22nd The Children, Mr Cooke and I, came into Town. We dined at Col. Bells where we met the Commodore & Mr Miller.
- Sunday 23rd Mr Cooke and I, dined at Col. Bell's;²¹ where we met Mr Arthur Balfour.
- Monday 24th The Governor & Captn. During came to Town, and returned to Protea to dinner. Captn. Greville came to Govt. House, - and accompanied Mr Cooke & I, to dinner at Col. Bells - where we again met Mr A. Balfour.
- Tuesday 25th The Governor, Fanny, Captn. During and Mr Balfour, came into Cape Town We all dined at Col. Bells, where we met Mr Kekewich and Major Rogers.
- Wednesday 26th We dined at home alone.
- Thursday 27th The Bells, Mr Duncan and Captn. Colpoys dined with us.

¹⁹ Captain Greville had sailed on board H.M.S. Espoir from Simon's Bay on 4 Apr., and arrived back on 12 May, from a cruise. (South African Commercial Advertiser 19 May 1830)

²⁰ The Circuit Court was scheduled to sit in Swellendam from 12 May. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Feb. 1830)

²¹ Lady Frances noted that it was Catherine Bell's day at the Sunday School. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Friday 28th We dined at Home alone. Catherine & I, paid a visit to Mrs Wade.
- Saturday 29th The Commodore & Captn. Greville went to Simon's Town. The whole family including the Children, dined at Col. Bell's to celebrate Catherine's Birthday.
- Sunday 30th²² Mr Bowles and Mr Dickinson dined at Govt. House.
- Monday 31st Major Hall, Mr Clarke Burton and Mr Arthur Balfour dined at Govt. House.
- June
- Tuesday 1st Very hard rain in the morning and some very loud claps of Thunder - it was so dark that we were obliged to use Candles at Breakfast ! We heard that a poor Boy cleaning a Chimney at a House in the Heeregracht was struck dead by the Lightning.²³ The Bells and Mr Dickinson dined with us.
- Wednesday 2nd
- Thursday 3rd A very stormy day of wind & rain.
[P26] Two Ships were driven on Shore, but neither of them damaged.²⁴ We again breakfasted by candle light. Major Cloete, Captn. Markham, Captn. Le Marchant & Mr Arthur Balfour dined at Govt. House.

22 It was Lady Frances Cole's day at the Sunday School. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

23 "When the storm was at its height a loud explosion ... was heard, and an electric spark passed over the town from South-east to North-west, emitting a sulphurous smell. In its progress the lightning ... proceeded over the office of this Paper, and coming in contact with a slave - who was standing on a ladder placed against a chimney on the top of Mrs Brath's house at the corner of the Heeregracht and Short-market street, - struck him dead instantly; broke away the corner of the chimney to the extent of 2 or 3 feet, and fractured the ladder in several places." (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 June 1830)

24 On Wednesday night the barometer dropped and a North-West gale blew. By noon on Thursday the wind and waves "shook the vessels to their keels". The Ellen, "half laden with wine and hides for the London market, began to drift ... her cable parted ... and [she] came ashore a little way to the Eastward of the Jetty." It was expected that she would be got off once her cargo was landed; this proved true. (South African Commercial Advertiser 5, 9 June 1830)

Not so fortunate was the Silence. She parted from her last cable at about four o'clock "and also came on the beach near the Jetty, where she lay broadside on, rolling with fearful violence as the raging waves struck her ... it is feared [she] will become a total wreck, as she struck on a sunken wreck near the Jetty when coming ashore, and has since bilged." (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 June 1830)

Friday June 4th Florence's Birthday.²⁵ All the Children dined with us. Col. & Catherine Bell & the two Miss Hares were likewise of the party. The evening was spent in playing a variety of games.

Saturday June 5th The Smiths, the Bells, Mr & Mrs Wynch, Major Harris, Captn. Sutherland²⁶ & Mr Miller dined at Govt. House.

Sunday 6th²⁷ About twelve o' clock at noon, a considerable rock fell down from Table Mountain with a noise resembling a very long continued clap of Thunder.²⁸ Mr Clarke Burton dined here.

Monday 7th The Bells, Mr & Mrs Blair, Major Hall and Major Craigie²⁹ (of the 55th)³⁰ dined here. The Alfred³¹ came in from England & brought us a few letters.³²

Tuesday 8th Captain Logie, Captn. Daniel³³ & Mr Alexander dined here.

Wednesday 9th Mr & Mrs Menzies, Baron & Baroness Lorentz, Mrs William Bird & Col. Wade came here to dinner - the two latter remained here. Mr Baillie and Mr Arthur Balfour also dined here.

25 It was Florence Cole's fourteenth Birthday: she was Lord and Lady Malmesbury's first grand-daughter. (Cole and Gwynn 185)

26 Captain Sutherland had arrived in Table Bay on board the ship Columbia on 27 Feb. 1829, having left Calcutta on 6 Jan. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Feb. 1829)

27 Lady Frances recorded that it was "Lisinka's turn at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

28 The Commercial Advertiser reported: "an eye-witness supposes that the former [of two masses of rock] was from 40 to 50 ton's weight ... It is supposed that this portion of the rock was split, and the shrubbery around it destroyed, by the fire which lately occurred on Table Mountain; and that the late heavy rains having loosened the substratum. the detached parts thus gave way." (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 June 1830)

29 Major Craigie, of the 55th Regt, and his wife had arrived on board the brig Singapore from the Downs on 9 May. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 May 1830)

30 From 14 May, when the first division of the 55th Regiment arrived in Port Elizabeth from the Frontier, the 55th Regiment began its withdrawal from the Eastern Cape. Their term of duty there was over. (South African Commercial Advertiser 22 May 1830)

31 The bark Alfred had sailed from the Downs on 31 Mar. for Table Bay and Mauritius. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 June 1830)

32 Lady Frances recorded receiving "A Mail from England to the end of March." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

33 Captain Daniels had arrived on board the brig Singapore from the Downs on 9 May. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 May 1830)

- Thursday 10th I dined at Col. Bell's, to meet the Menzies and Baron and Baroness Lorentz. We went in the evening to the First Society Ball³⁴ which was very ill attended³⁵ and the music of the very worst kind. "O ! What a falling off is here !" !"
- Friday 11th Mrs William Bird went away.
- Saturday 12th The Bells, Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, Dr. Murray, and Mr Lacy, dined here.
- Sunday 13th³⁶ I drove out in the Curricule³⁷ with the Governor. Mr Bowles dined with us.
- Monday 14th We dined at the Bells, it being their Wedding day - the 9th Anniversary.³⁸ We met the Smiths, the Henry Cloetes, Dr. Murray and Mr Bowles. The Badger came in.³⁹
- Tuesday 15th The Governor's Wedding Day - the 15th Anniversary⁴⁰ - The Bells, the Smiths, the Wades, and Mr Bowles dined here.
- Mrs Wade came to stay.
- Wednesday 16th Fanny's First Soirée which was but thinly attended.
- Thursday 17th Sir John Wylde & Miss Wylde dined here.
- Friday 18th Catherine and Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.

34 The First Subscription Ball was held at the African Club-house. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 June 1830)

35 Lady Francis noted in her journal that "thirty attended". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

36 Lady Frances Cole "Attended at the School for Ly. M. Fitzroy." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

37 A curricule was a light, open two-wheeled carriage, drawn by two horses abreast of one another. (OED)

38 Sir John Bell had married Catherine (née Harris), elder daughter of the first Lord Malmesbury, and sister of Lady Frances Cole, on 14 June 1821. They had no children. (Krüger 1:66)

39 H.M.S. Badger had sailed from England on 6 Mar. for Simon's Bay. She carried no mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 16 June 1830)

40 Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole had married Lady Francis (née Harris), second daughter of the First Earl of Malmesbury, on 15 June 1815. It was their fifteenth anniversary. (Krüger 1:163)

[P27]

Saturday 19th Fanny, the Children and myself accompanied by Captn. During & Mr A. Balfour went to the Play⁴¹ - the performance was very good, and the House well attended. The performance was for the benefit of the Philanthropic Society.⁴²

Sunday 20th Mr Arthur Balfour dined here. Mr Bowles came in the evening.

Monday 21st Captn. Greville & Captn. Rowley (of the Badger) came from Simon's Town.⁴³ Major Hall, Mr Baillie, & Mr A. Balfour dined here.

Tuesday 22nd Col. & Mrs Munro & Miss Taylor, Mr Slater, Mr MacKay & Mr Baillie dined at Govt. House. Mr Cooke, Dr. Dyce and I, dined at Sir J. Wylde's where we met the Oliphants, the Bells, the Smiths & Baron & Baroness Lorentz. There was some music in the evening.

Wednesday 23rd I accompanied Mrs Smith to the Barracks to hear the 72d Band practise and heard some delightful music. Afterwards we were regaled with a splendid Luncheon by some of the Officers. Mrs Oliphant, Miss Wylde, Mrs Munro, & Miss Taylor were of the party. The second Soirée which was tolerably well attended.⁴⁴

Thursday 24th The first grand Dinner. Col. & Lady Mary Fitzroy, the Bells, Mr & Mrs Menzies, Mr Blair, Mrs Lindsay, Miss Blair, Captains Markham, Daniel & Eyre, & Mr Pitts, were the Guests.

Friday 25th Another great dinner, consisting of Stolls, Lorentzes, Smiths, Bells, Captn. Le Marchant, Mr Payne, Judge Burton, Mr Clarke Burton, Mr Armstrong and Major Craigie. I dined at Col. Fitzroys where I met the Menzies, Mr Pattel & Miss Pattel, Mr Stuart, Mr de Silvieira & Mr Baillie.

Saturday 26th⁴⁵ A family party, including Mr A. Balfour.

41 The theatre was in Riebeeck Square (Hottentots Square).

42 "The Cape of Good Hope Philanthropic Society for aiding deserving Slaves and Slave Children to purchase their Freedom" was established in July 1828." (Cape Almanack 1831)

43 Captain Rowley commanded the H.M.S. Badger which had arrived in Simon's Bay on 15 June 1830. (Cape Almanack 1831)

44 Lady Frances reported that it was "much fuller than the last - many more Dutch." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

45 Lady Francis went "to see Mr Poleman's Collection of Insects &c." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Peter Hendrik Polemann, an apothecary, was interested both in botany and entomology. (Evans 175,197)

Sunday the 27th Sir Lowry & Fanny went to the Lutheran Church, to the Commemoration of the Confession of Augsburg.⁴⁶ A family party at Dinner, including Captns. Greville & Rowley & Mr A. Balfour.

Monday the 28th Mr Warden, Captn. Saunders,⁴⁷ Mr Grant, Mr Campbell, [-----] dined at Govt. House. I dined at Col. Bell's & went with them to the Play performed by the 72nd - "Rob Roy" which was very well performed. After the Play, the Ladies were invited to Supper in the Mess Room, where there was a very handsome repast - this was followed by some Singing, & then a dance, which was kept up by some of the party till late in the evening. Capts. Greville & Rowley went, to Simon's Town.

[P28]

Tuesday 29th A small family party at dinner. Fanny and I, went in the evening to Col. Bell's, where we met the Blairs, Mrs Lindsay, the Menzies, Mrs Oliphant, the Wyldes, Captn. Rowley,⁴⁸ Captn. & Mrs Bance, Mr Lacy &c &c

Wednesday 30th The Third Soirée which was tolerably full.⁴⁹ Captn. Greville returned from Simon's Town.

July

Thursday 1st A very large party at dinner, namely The Bells, Mr & Mrs Kekewich,⁵⁰ Mr & Mrs Hough Mr Stuart, Major & Mrs Rogers, Mr & Mrs Oliphant, Dr. Murray, Captn. Blair, Major Hall Mr Adey,⁵¹ Mr Silveira,⁵² Captns. Greville & Rowley, Mr & Mrs Bird.

Friday 2nd A great Dinner. That is, Mr & Mrs Hawkins and Miss Piggot, Captn. & Mrs Hare, Mrs W. Bird Captn. & Mrs Bance, Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, Mrs Clarke, Col. & Ly. C. Bell, Col. Wade, Mr Daniel Cloete.⁵³

⁴⁶ The Augsburg Confession was presented on 25 June 1530 at the Diet of Augsburg. This day was the tercentennial, and a jubilee day. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114; Douglas 85-86)

⁴⁷ i.e. Captain Saunder (E.I.C.I.) (Lady Frances, journal, PRO30/43/114)

⁴⁸ His ship, the H.M.S. Badger sailed on 30 June. (Cape Almanack 1831) This was his farewell dinner at the Cape.

⁴⁹ Lady Frances noted in her journal that it was "not so full as the last." (PRO 30/43/114)

⁵⁰ They were proud parents: their son had been baptised Robert Burton Kekewich by the Rev. Hough in the English Church, Cape Town, on Sat. 12 June. (South African Commercial Advertiser 16 June 1830)

⁵¹ Lt Michael Adair of the 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1830-31)

⁵² He was the Brazilian Consul at the Cape.

⁵³ Mr Daniel J. Cloete, a lawyer, was the Clerk of the Peace for Cape Town and the District, and lived above the Government Gardens. He also owned a house in Hout Bay. (Cape Almanack 1830)

- Saturday 3rd Dr Swane dined with us.⁵⁴
- Sunday 4th A very bad day of rain and wind.⁵⁵ The Bells and Mr Duncan & Mr A. Balfour dined here.
- Monday 5th The Patience arrived from the Mauritius & brought some letters.⁵⁶ Mr & Mrs Mynheer,⁵⁷ Mrs William Ryneveld⁵⁸ & Mr & Mrs Crosier⁵⁹ dined here.
- Tuesday 6th⁶⁰ Captn. Rowley sailed for England in the John.⁶¹ Captn. Markham dined here.
- Wednesday 7th I went with Mrs Menzies & Mr Balfour to the Court to hear the trial of "MacKay versus Phillip" - but the cause was put off.⁶² The 4th and last Soirée, which was extremely crowded - the Band of the 72d played beautifully as usual.

54 i.e. Dr S.J. Swayne, M.D.

55 Lady Francis recorded in her journal: "The Sunday School dismissed, Mr Cooke read prayers at home." (PRO 30/43/114)

56 The brig Patience had sailed from Mauritius on 8 May for Table Bay, with a mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 July 1830)

57 Mr Honoratus Christiaan David Maynier (1760-1831) and his wife, Johanna Elizabeth (née Mentz), were the purchasers of the estate Boschheuvel at Wynberg in 1805, which Sir Lowry Cole renamed Protea. The name was later changed to Bishopscourt. (Krüger 2: 456-59)

58 Advocate Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld (1765-1812) had owned the farm Groote Schuur, and had been a good friend of the Barnards. Lady Anne had described him in 1797 as: "immense for his age which is only 32, but he is not Lazy". (Robinson 92) Educated at the Cape, Willem van Ryneveld never travelled outside the Colony. On his return in 1812 from his first circuit court he committed suicide. His widow continued to live at the Cape. (Stockenstrom 73; Immelmann 18)

59 Mr Robert Crozier, (c.1785-1852) was Postmaster General of the Cape Post-Office in 1830. His wife was Johanna Magdalena (née van Rijneveld). (Krüger 2:158)

60 Lady Frances recorded in her journal that "The Olive Branch arrived from England bringing letters to the end of April." (PRO 30/43/114)

61 Captain Rowley's new command was the John which had sailed to the Cape from Rio de Janeiro, arriving in Table Bay on 9 May 1830. (Cape Almanack 1831)

62 This was "In consequence of the non-attendance of a material Witness in this case, on the mention of Mr Advocate Cloete, the propriety of which was also admitted by the Attorney General for the Plaintiff, it was postponed till Monday next ... This trial excited very great interest, and the Court was crowded." (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 July 1830)

Thursday 8th A large party at Dinner - that is the Bells, Mr Pattel, Miss Pattel, Mrs Cloete, Mrs Luson,⁶³ Major Cloete, Mr Wynch, Col. Munro, Miss Taylor, Capt. Hope, Capt. Bragbrooke, Mr Warden, Col. Wade.

Friday 9th A great Dinner. The Bells, Mr & Mrs Marshall, Mr & Mrs Pennell, Mr & Mrs Goodison, Mr & Mrs Petrie,⁶⁴ Capt. Sutherland, Col. Wade Mr Oakridgt, Mr Arthur Balfour, were the Guests. Mr Bowles came in the evening.

Saturday 10th The Eliza Jane came in from England.⁶⁵ Mr Clarke Burton dined with us.

Sunday 11th The new Organ was opened in the Dutch Church⁶⁶ with a selection of music performed by Mr Corder on the Organ, assisted by the Band of the 72d the effect was very fine indeed.

Monday 12th I accompanied Lady Mary Fitzroy and Mrs Menzies to the Supreme Court⁶⁷ to hear the Trial of Dr. Phillip for a Libel published [P29] in his Book on the Cape Colony,⁶⁸ against Mr MacKay. We remained till six

63 Mrs Catherina Maria Luson (née Cloete)(1798-1877), was the widow of Mr Joseph Luson (1784-1822) who had been the second East India Company agent at the Cape from 1816 until his death. She later became the second wife of Mr Pieter G. Brink. (Krüger 2:415; Arkin 217)

64 Mr W. Petrie was the Deputy Commissary General. He and his wife lived near the Government Gardens. (Cape Almanack 1831)

65 The Eliza Jane had sailed from the Downs on 1 May for Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 July 1830) She brought mail dating from Mar. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

66 The Organ, "the munificent Gift of Jan Hoets, Esq. to the Dutch Church", was first opened in a Dutch Service by Rev. A. Faure; thereafter the English Community joined the congregation. Mr T. Corder, organist of the English Church, presided at the Organ, and Mr Ricks and his excellent 72nd Band augmented the sound. The Rev. Hough preached.

"The ceremony was honored by the presence of His Excellency the Governor and Lady Frances Cole, with their family and suite; the Chief Justice and one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, and several other persons of distinction." In all there were reckoned to be about 1600 persons in the Church. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10, 17, 21 July 1830)

67 "On Monday last this important Trial was resumed. At an early hour the upper part of the Court was crowded, and in the Grand Jury Box sat Lady Mary Fitz Roy, Mrs Menzies, and Miss Cozens. The proceedings were observed by the auditory with deep attention throughout." (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 July 1830)

68 The book: Researches in South Africa, illustrating the Civil, Moral & Religious condition of the Native Tribes by Rev. J. Philip, D.D., Superintendent of Missions of the London Missionary Society. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Mar. 1830; Cape Almanack 1831)

o'clock when the Court adjourned.⁶⁹ Mr Baillie and Captn. Markham dined here.

Tuesday 13th I went again with Lady Mary to the Court - the Trial ended about six o'clock. Mr Oliphant as Council for the Plaintive [sic] made an admirable speech - very temperate but containing some scarce truths, in very excellent language. Mr Duthie, and Mr Menzies dined at Govt. House The second Ball at the Society rooms was given.⁷⁰ Mr Menzies and Dr. Dyce were the Stewards- I was too tired to accompany Fanny; Miss Wylde went with her. Captn. Greville arrived from Simon's Town.

Wednesday 14th Captn. Eyre dined at Govt. House.

Thursday 15th A great Dinner. The Bells, the Ebdens, Mr & Mrs Wimberley & Miss Irwine, Mr & Mrs Judge,⁷¹ Major & Mrs Hogan Brown, Mr Robinson, Mr Campbell, Mr Frith, Mr Williams, Major Craigie, were the Guests

Friday 16th I went with Lady Mary⁷² to the Court to hear Judgement pronounced in the case of MacKay versus Phillip The four Judges were unanimous in their opinion, that the Libel was of the most flagrant nature, and gave their Verdict for Mr MacKay with Costs & £200 pounds Damages The Chief Judge⁷³ made a most admirable speech of nearly 3 hours⁷⁴ - Mr Menzies reasoned closely and clearly - Mr Burton was very wordy & confused. Mr Kekewich in a very few forcible words⁷⁵ gave a death blow to the character of Dr. Phillip. The Court was excessively crowded. When the sentence was given, some of these persons were disposed to show their exultation & pleasure by

⁶⁹ It was the second case of its kind that had come before the Court since the New System had been adopted; consequently a great deal of public interest was aroused. (South African Commercial Advertiser 21 July 1830)

⁷⁰ Lady Frances wrote in her journal that it was "Thinly attended but went off gaily." (PRO 30/43/114)

⁷¹ Mr Edward C. Judge arrived in Cape Town in May 1825 and served as headmaster at the Classical School, 6 Rhee de street, until 1840. He was listed as professor of classical and English literature, and was ordained a priest in 1832. He married Charlotte (née Wheatley) in 1830. (Krüger 3:458-59; Cape Almanack 1831)

⁷² i.e. Lady Mary FitzRoy.

⁷³ Sir John Wylde (1781-1859), the Chief Justice of the Colony since 1827. (Cape Almanack 1831)

⁷⁴ Sir John Wylde reportedly was both theatrical and verbose: "At a prize-giving ceremony at the South African College in 1831 his address lasted for two hours." (Krüger 2:862)

⁷⁵ The Chief Justice had begun his address soon after twelve o'clock; by three o'clock he was concluded. Mr Justice Burton spoke next, a "long and perspicuous Judgement", after which Mr Justice Kekewich began: "that at the late hour of the day, he would be very brief in the opinion he was about to deliver; because it would be unnecessary for him to travel over the same road as the Lord Chief Justice and his brother Judges who had preceded him had done." (South African Commercial Advertiser 24 July 1830)

clapping their hands, but such indecorous conduct was immediately checked by the Chief Judge. Dr. Phillip was present during the whole Trial, & when sentence was pronounced.

Another Dinner - The Company were Mr & Mrs Maasdorp,⁷⁶ Mr & Mrs Watermeyer,⁷⁷ Mr & Mrs Borchards,⁷⁸ Mr & Mrs Cloete (of the Bridge) Mr Tennant, Mr Clarke Burton, Mr Bowles, Mr Watt,⁷⁹ Mr John Brink, the Bells.

Saturday 17th A Family party at Dinner.

Sunday 18th⁸⁰ Ditto ditto.

Monday 19th I went with Mrs Smith to hear the Band practise - Catherine, Lady Mary Fitzroy, [P30] Miss Pattel, Mrs Ebdon, Miss Ebdon, Mrs Bance were of the Party - we had again, a very handsome Collation. The long looked for Clorinda came in from Algoa Bay after a passage of 52 days.⁸¹ Dr Smith dined with us - also Mr Clarke. Fanny dined with the Bells.

Tuesday 20th A very stormy night. Catherine & Mrs Smith dined at Govt. House.

Wednesday 21st The Governor, Fanny & Mr Balfour dined with the Wades - Capt. During, Dr. Dyce and myself dined at the Stolls where we met Lady Cath. Bell (Col. Bell was not well enough to dine out) the Menzies the Oliphants, Mr Brink & Mr Clarke.

76 Mr G.H. Maasdorp was one of the two Directors of the Lombard and Discount Bank, at no. 26, Heeregracht, and the sole Director of the Town Market. (Cape Almanack 1831)

77 Either Frederik Stephanus Watermeyer (1797-1847) and his wife, Anna Maria (née Ziervogel), reportedly well-known in Cape Town business circles, or his parents, Gottfried Andries Watermeyer (1763-1832) and Margaretha (née Joubert). (Krüger 2:832-34)

78 Mr Petrus Borchardus Borchards (1786-1871) grew up in Stellenbosch and became a member of the Council of Justice in 1823. In 1828 when the Supreme Court replaced the Council, he became the Judge of Police and Resident Magistrate for Cape Town and the Cape District, which position he held until his retirement in 1857. He had married Janetta Johanna (née Blanckenberg) in Stellenbosch in May 1806. (Krüger 2:69-70)

79 Mr J.D. Watt was one of the two Directors of the Lombard and Discount Bank. (Cape Almanack 1831)

80 Lady Frances noted in her journal that it was "Lisinka's turn at the Sunday School - Sacrament Sunday". (PRO 30/43/114)

81 The bark Clorinda had sailed from Port Elizabeth, beat about for twelve days, returned to Port Elizabeth on 11 June, and sailed once again on 21 June for Mossel Bay, which she left on 10 July, and finally arrived in Table Bay on 23 July. She carried the first division of the 55th Regiment from their term of duty on the Frontier. (South African Commercial Advertiser 19 June, 21 July 1830) She sailed again for Algoa Bay on 29 July. (Cape Almanack 1831)

- Thursday 22nd A great dinner of Gentlemen only. Fanny dined with Catherine -
I was too unwell to accompany her.
- Friday 23rd Another great Dinner. Fanny again dined with the Bells - and I
spent the evening with the Wades. Arthur was unwell.⁸²
- Saturday 24th Dr. Dyce pronounced Arthur to have the Scarlet fever.⁸³ I dined
at the Bells where I met Mr & Mrs Daniel Cloete.
- Sunday 25th⁸⁴ A family party at Dinner.
- Monday 26th⁸⁵ The Bells and Mr Clarke Burton dined with us.
- Tuesday 27th Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.
- Wednesday 28th A very stormy night. Snow on Table Mount.⁸⁶ Capt'n.
Markham & Mr Pitts dined at Govt. House.
- Thursday 29th The Bells, Mr Duncan, Mr Campbell dined here - also Captain
Greville & Mr Powell, who arrived from Simon's Bay. The Gentlemen and I
went to a small Quadrille party⁸⁷ at Mr Stoll's to celebrate Miss Stoll's Birthday.

82 Arthur Lowry Cole, then aged thirteen years.

83 The year 1830 was "one of unusually fatal and continued sickness, and particularly amongst children ... Scarlet fever, which had shown itself in the winter of the preceding year, made its appearance again about April, but in a very mild form ... During the month of May, this disease became well marked, began to spread, and prove fatal in a few instances ... particularly during July, August, and September, the former of which was uncommonly sickly; - catarrhal affections, pulmonary complaints, and sore throat prevailing to a great degree. In August, several cases of scarlet fever proved fatal." (Cape Almanack 1831)

84 Lady Frances recorded in her journal: "Arthur ill but not seriously so." (PRO 30/43/114)

85 Lady Frances: "Arthur in the height of the Scarlet Fever but not seriously ill." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

86 Lady Frances: "Table Mountain & the Devils Peak had a great deal of Snow upon them in the evening. Arthur convalescent." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

87 Col. Bird, describing the state of the Cape in 1822, writes: "The waltz or quadrille are now the high Cape tone; and country, now termed kitchen dances, are neglected. Quadrilles and cotillions were danced generally by the Cape-Dutch, before the conquest of the English; and to oblige them, the Dutch ladies gave up the quadrille, which the English could not then dance, and adopted what is called the country dance." (Bird 165; cf. Pearse 155)

Friday 30th The Governor and Fanny drove to Protea. We heard of poor Mrs Nourse's death.⁸⁸ Dr. Smith and Mr Powell⁸⁹ dined with us.

Saturday 31st Mr Lacey dined with us. I went in the morning with Mrs Smith to hear the Band practise, & there was a very numerous party.

August

Sunday 1st I went to the Scotch Kirk,⁹⁰ with Dr. Dyce where I heard an excellent Sermon preached by Dr. Adamson.⁹¹ Mr Thompson, from Simon's Town dined with us.

Monday 2nd⁹² Mr Balfour, Capt. Greville & I, dined at Col. Wade's. Col. Munro, Mr Taylor and Mr Grant dined at Govt. House.

Tuesday 3rd Willy fell sick and Netty⁹³ The Bells, Mr Rogerson, Mr Bagley (from India), Major Cloete, Col. Wade, Mr Duncan, Dr. Murray and Mr Rex⁹⁴ dined with us.

Wednesday 4th A memorable day!⁹⁵ Mr A. Balfour dined here.

88 Mrs Dorothy Nourse (née Christian) left "many children", three sons and four daughters. Her husband, Henry Nourse (1779-1834) had traded as a shipping merchant and speculator in Cape Town since 1820 and, in 1822, had become a founder-member of the Commercial Exchange. (Krüger 5:545; Lady Frances, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 29 Sept. 1824, journal, PRO 30/43/32) Her brother-in-law was the late Commodore Nourse (1779-1824) who had contracted fever on a return voyage from Mombasa and died at sea. (Krüger 3:660)

89 Lady Frances noted: "Mr Powell of the Espoir". (PRO 30/43/114)

90 The Scotch Kirk, St. Andrew's Presbyterian, had been consecrated on 24 May 1829. (Cape Almanack 1830-31; Krüger 1:5)

91 Dr James Constantine Adamson, D.D., (1797-1875) had arrived at the Cape in November 1827, as the first Minister of the Presbyterian Church. He was one of the committee selected in June 1829 to establish the S.A. College - later the University of Cape Town - and he was active as a lecturer and an influential personality of the Cape social fabric. (Krüger 1:5)

92 Lady Frances: "Willy complained of Sore Throat & sickness in the morning - before the evening the Scarlet fever declared itself." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

93 Lady Frances: "Willy's fever increased with every other symptom of the disease - The other children stayed the day with their Aunt. Nett returned sick in the evening & before midnight the eruption showed itself but without sore throat ... I remained upstairs with Nett". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

94 George Rex (1765-1839), whose brig, the Knysna, was soon to be launched. He operated as a coastal trader during the years that Lisinka was at the Cape. (Krüger 2:590-92; Metelerkamp 114-17)

95 Lady Frances journal recorded: "Nett's scarlet fever declared but of a very mild nature without sore throat - I separated myself from the other children & Fanny went to remain

[P31]

- Thursday 5th The Minerva came in from Mauritius⁹⁶ and brought news of the arrival of the Maidstone and Falcon - and of the marriage of Mr Nash to Miss Boulanger. A large Gentleman dinner. Catherine came to drink tea with Fanny & me.
- Friday 6th Another great dinner. I dined with Catherine, and Fanny came in the evening.
- Saturday 7th⁹⁷ The Leda arrived from Mauritius⁹⁸ and brought the intelligence of some reductions which had taken place in some of the situatiary there.⁹⁹ Captain Markham & Mr Clarke Burton dined with us.
- Mr Balfour went to Simon's Town.¹⁰⁰
- Sunday 8th Mr Arthur Balfour dined at Govt. House.
- Monday 9th I dined at Catherine Bell's where, I met Col. Wade. Col. Mill (55th Regt.),¹⁰¹ Major Hall and Mr Bowles dined at Govt. House.
- Tuesday 10th Mr Balfour returned from Simon's Town.¹⁰² The Bells, Mr Duncan & Dr. Smith dined here. I called on Mrs Stoll.
- Wednesday 11th The Bells & Mr Duncan dined here again.

with her Aunt." (PRO 30/43/114)

The day could have been memorable for the anxiety about the children or, what may be more likely, the fact that Mr Frances Lowry Balfour, Franco, may have spent the day alone with Miss Cozens. They were joined by his brother, Arthur, for dinner.

- 96 The schooner Minerva had sailed from Mauritius on 8 July for Table Bay, with a cargo of sugar. She carried mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 Aug. 1830)
- 97 Lady Frances: "Willy decidedly better but not free from fever & sore throat. Nett's eruption very great causing her a restless [night] but not making her ill." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 98 The bark Leda had sailed from Mauritius on 19 July for Table Bay. She carried mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 Aug.; Gazette 13 Aug. 1830)
- 99 The news received dated from mid-July. Sir Charles Colville had succeeded Sir Lowry as the Governor of Mauritius. Colville's efforts to ameliorate the conditions of the slaves were meeting with strong opposition.
- 100 Lady Frances: "Franco went to Simon's Town." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 101 Lt-Col. Charles Mill, of H.M. 55th Regt. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 102 Lady Frances: "Franco returned from Simon's Bay." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Thursday 12th Messrs Campbell, Baillie & Mr Balfour dined with us. The Protector came in from England bringing a detachment of the 75th Regiment.¹⁰³ Florence was taken ill.¹⁰⁴
- Friday 13th Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete & Col. Wade dined here. Louisa was taken ill.¹⁰⁵
- Saturday 14th¹⁰⁶ The Bells & Mr Duncan dined here.
- Sunday 15th Major Hall & Mr Arthur Balfour dined with us.
- Monday 16th Lou's Birthday¹⁰⁷ - both the young Ladies still in bed. The Bells, Mrs Smith, Major Hammond, Captain Hall (75th Regt.)¹⁰⁸ dined here, also Col. Wade, & Capt. Bance.
- Tuesday 17th Col. Mills, Doctor Smith and Mr Jones¹⁰⁹ & Mr Grant dined with us.
- Wednesday 18th Two years since we left Mauritius!¹¹⁰

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- 103 The change of Regiments at the Cape had been announced in the local Press early in July when the 75th Regiment was reported en route, on board five vessels. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 July 1830) The first to arrive, the Protector, had sailed from Portsmouth on 3 June for Table Bay, Madras, and Calcutta. She carried officers and 137 rank and file of H.M. 75th Regiment. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Aug. 1830)
- 104 Lady Frances: "Florence taken ill in the evening. Scarlet fever declared itself." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 105 Lady Frances: "In the afternoon Louisa was taken ill & the same complaint showed itself before night." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 106 Lady Frances: "Chris seized with a violent sore throat but no appearance of eruption." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 107 Lady Frances: "Girls had a good night - both on the mend particularly Louisa. Louisa's Birthday." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Louisa Cole turned twelve.
- 108 Both Major Hammond and Captain Hall were of the 75th Regiment, and had arrived on board the Protector on 12 August. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Aug. 1830)
- 109 Lady Frances: "Dr Jones (Espoir)". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 110 Two years before, on 18 August 1828, the H.M.S. Tweed, under the command of Captain Lord J. Spencer Churchill, had sailed from Mauritius for Simon's Bay, and England. (Gazette 12 Sept. 1828)

Thursday 19th Captain Greville came from Simon's Town. The Susan arrived with another detachment of the 75th on board.¹¹¹

Friday 20th Mr Clarke Burton dined with us.

Saturday 21st James was taken ill. Col. & Lady Mary Fitzroy, the Baron and Baroness Lorentz, the Bells, Mr Duncan Doctor Smith, & Mr Truter dined at Govt. House.

Sunday 22nd Fanny's Birthday¹¹² - the Bells, the Smiths, Mr Duncan, Captain Markham, Col. Wade & Mr Arthur Balfour dined here to celebrate it. The Lady East came in.¹¹³ Mr C. Bell came.

Monday 23rd¹¹⁴ Captain Bird (55th Regt.),¹¹⁵ Major Cloete, Mr Campbell, Mr Thompson & Mr Ford dined at Govt. House.

Tuesday 24th¹¹⁶ Catherine Bell, Mrs Smith, & Dr Smith, dined with us.

[P32]

Wednesday 25th Col. & Mrs Smith, Mr & Mrs Denny (of the Lady East),¹¹⁷ Col. England,¹¹⁸ Capt. England,¹¹⁹ Captain Halifax,¹²⁰ Mr Tyssen,¹²¹

¹¹¹ The second vessel to arrive, the Susan, had sailed from Portsmouth on 3 June for Table Bay, Madras, and Calcutta with an officer and 146 rank and file of H.M. 75th Regiment. (South African Commercial Advertiser 21 Aug. 1830)

¹¹² Lady Frances noted in her journal: "Drizzling rain in the morning - Cloudy day throughout my Birthday." (PRO 30/43/114) It was Lady Frances' forty-sixth birthday.

¹¹³ The third vessel to arrive, the bark Lady East, had sailed from Weymouth on 3 June for Table Bay, Madras, and Calcutta. On board were officers and 143 rank and file of the H.M. 75th Regiment. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830)

¹¹⁴ The fourth vessel, the Bengal Merchant, arrived in Table Bay on 23 August from Portsmouth with officers and 113 rank and file of H.M. 75th Regiment. They were the remainder of the Regiment, appointed to relieve the 55th Regiment. That same day the Clorinda arrived in Simon's Bay from Algoa Bay with the last detachment of the 55th Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1831; South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830)

¹¹⁵ Captain Bird, 55th Regiment, had sailed from Algoa Bay on board the schooner Flamingo for Table Bay. He had arrived on 20 August. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830)

¹¹⁶ Lady Frances noted that it was "Arthur's Birthday". He turned thirteen. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

¹¹⁷ Mr G. Denny was in command of the bark Lady East which had arrived in Table Bay on 22 August. His wife accompanied him. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830)

¹¹⁸ Lt-Col. Richard England, of H.M. 75th Regiment, his wife and three children, had arrived on board the Lady East on 22 August. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830; Gazette 27 Aug. 1830)

Mr Moore (of the 82nd),¹²² Mr Nylus (of the 16th),¹²³ Col. Mill and Mr Scott, dined at Govt. House.

Thursday 26th A small party at dinner consisting of their Excellencies, Captn. Greville, & myself.

Friday 27th Mr Arthur Balfour dined with us. There was a Ball at the Society rooms¹²⁴ to which Fanny went, but I did not, having a bad headache.

Saturday 28th Mr Vernon & Mr Maxwell (of the 98th),¹²⁵ Majors Duthie, Baillie & Pitts, dined with us - also the Bells, & Mr Duncan.

Sunday 29th¹²⁶ We heard of the plunder of the St Helena Schooner¹²⁷ and of poor Captn. Harrison and a Medical man (Dr Waddell) having been thrown over board by the Pirates.¹²⁸
Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.

119 Captain J.H. England, of H.M. 75th Regiment, had arrived on board the bark Lady East on 22 August. (Gazette 27 Aug. 1830)

120 Captain Robert D. Hallifax, of H.M. 75th Regiment, had arrived on board the bark Lady East on 22 August. (Gazette 27 Aug. 1830)

121 Lt C. Tyrsen, of H.M. 75th Regiment, had recently arrived at the Cape. (Cape Almanack 1831)

122 Ensign Moore, of the 82nd Regiment, had arrived on board the Lady East on 22 August. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830)

123 Lt Myhis of the 16th Regiment arrived at the Cape on board the Bengal Merchant on 23 August. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830)

124 Lady Frances recorded in her journal that the Ball was "not very full". (PRO 30/43/114)

125 Lts H.S. Maxwell and H.W.V. Vernon were both in the 98th Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1831)

126 Lady Frances noted: "Lisinka's turn at the Sunday School". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

127 The schooner St. Helena had sailed from the island of St. Helena to Table Bay, arriving on 28 February. She sailed again for St. Helena on 8 Mar., from which island she sailed on 31 Mar., for Sierra Leone and England. At ten o'clock on the morning of 6 Apr. she was boarded by pirates and plundered. (Cape Almanack 1831; South African Commercial Advertiser 1 Sept. 1830)

128 Captain Harrison, Dr Waddell, and eleven other men were thrown overboard. Five of the crew escaped by hiding in the hold and, when the pirates had gone, jury-rigged the schooner and sailed to Sierra Leone, arriving on 1 May. (South African Commercial Advertiser 1 Sept. 1830)

Monday 30th Major Hall, Major Hammond, Captn. Young,¹²⁹ Dr. Graham¹³⁰
and Mr Warden dined here.

Tuesday 31st A Ball at Government House, which seemed to go off with
spirit, and lasted till two o'clock.¹³¹ Mr Powel came from Simon's Town.

¹²⁹ Captain C.A. Young, of H.M. 75th Regiment, had arrived on board the Susan on 19 August. (South African Commercial Advertiser 21 Aug. 1830)

¹³⁰ Dr. E.S. Graham, Surgeon in H.M. 75th Regiment, had arrived on board the bark Lady East on 22 August. (Gazette 27 Aug. 1830)

¹³¹ Lady Frances: "Ball in the evening very full." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

September

Wednesday 1st Captain Hall, Mr Boyce,¹ Mr C. Burton and Mr Clarke² dined with us.

Thursday 2nd³ I dined at Col. Wade's, with Captain During and Mr Powel, where we met, Col. Everard (from Calcutta),⁴ Major Cloete, Dr. Smith, Mr Baillie, Mr Alexander, Mr Vernon and Mr Maxwell. A small family party at Govt. House.

Friday 3rd Col. Wade, Captain Markham, & Mr Vernon dined with us. The Falcon came in from Mauritius, & brought numerous letters.⁵

Saturday 4th The Bells and Mr Duncan, Dr. Smith, Mr Knollis⁶ & Mr Tighe (of the 75th)⁷ dined here.

Sunday 5th⁸ Captain Colpoys dined here.⁹

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- 1 Two Lieutenants, H. Boys (Adjutant) and H.H. Boys arrived at the Cape on board the Lady East on 22 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830) No Boyce is listed.
 - 2 Lady Frances noted he was "Dr Clarke" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 3 Lady Frances: "The Edmund Castle arrived from England - bringing news to 14th June - H M reported as not likely to live 24 hours - no private letters." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) The Edmund Castle had sailed from the Downs. His Majesty King George IV died at Windsor on 26 June. (Gazette 17 Sept. 1830)
 - 4 Colonel Everard had arrived on board the Lord Amherst in Simon's Bay on 31 Aug. The ship had sailed from Calcutta on 12 May, and Madras on 1 July. Her destination was London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 1 Sept. 1830)
 - 5 The Falcon had sailed from Mauritius on 3 Aug. via Algoa Bay on 25 Aug., and Mossel Bay on 31 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 8 Sept. 1830)
 - 6 Ensign Edward Knollys of H.M. 75th Regt. had arrived at the Cape on board the Lady East on 22 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830; Cape Almanack 1832)
 - 7 Assistant Surgeon J.L. Tighe of H.M. 75th Regt. had arrived at the Cape on board the Bengal Merchant on 23 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830; Cape Almanack 1831)
 - 8 Lady Frances: "Lisinka's day at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 9 Captain Colpoys was commander of H.M. Ship Falcon which had arrived in Simon's Bay on 3 Sept. (South African Commercial Advertiser 8 Sept. 1830)

Monday 6th Captain Greville went to Simon's Town. The Bells, Captain & Mrs Stockenstrom,¹⁰ Col. & Mrs England, Dr. Murray, Mr Alexander, Major Cloete and Mr Sutton¹¹ dined here.

Mr Kennedy came from Simon's Town.¹²

Tuesday 7th¹³ The Second Ball at Government House, which was very full & went off with much spirit. Capt. Greville returned.

Wednesday 8th Mr Warden, Dr. Smith, Major Hall, Mr Vernon, Mr Baillie & Mr Thompson dined here.

Thursday 9th Two years since we arrived in Cape Town!¹⁴ I dined at Mr Pattle's, where I met, the Fitzroys, Mr Menzies, Mr Taylor (from Calcutta)¹⁵ Sir Thomas Sevestra,¹⁶ Mr Campbell, Mr Baillie, & little Stuart. Captain Greville & Mr Cooke accompanied me. In the evening there was a [P33] pleasant little dance. The Smiths, the Dickinsons & Mr Marsh dined at Govt. House.

Friday 10th Fanny and Mr Balfour dined at Col. Wade's, and I dined with the Bells, where I met the Dickinsons, the Goodisons, Mr Duthie and Mr Pitts.

Saturday 11th The Bells dined here. Fanny, the Children, Captain During and myself went to the Play - the Performance was the Honey Moon.¹⁷ The Smiths belonged to our Party, & Mr Baillie &c &c.

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- 10 The Hon. Andrew Stockenstrom was the Commissioner General of the Eastern division and a Member of the Council of the Cape Civil Establishment at this time. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 11 Lt William Sutton of H.M. 75th Regt. had arrived at the Cape on board the Lady East on 22 Aug. (Gazette 27 Aug. 1830; Cape Almanack 1832)
- 12 Lady Frances recorded in her journal that Mr Kennedy was from the Ship Falcon which had arrived in Simon's Bay on 3 Sept. (PRO 30/43/114)
- 13 Lady Frances noted: "Went to see the Museum in the morning." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 14 The H.M.S. Tweed had arrived in Simon's Bay on 7 Sept. 1828. (Gazette 12 Sept. 1828)
- 15 The Hon. Mr Taylor was travelling on board the Lord Amherst which had sailed from Calcutta on 12 May for Madras, Simon's Bay, and London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 1 Sept. 1830)
- 16 Sir Thomas Sevestre was travelling on board the Lord Amherst which had sailed from Calcutta on 12 May for Madras, Simon's Bay, and London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 1 Sept. 1830)
- 17 The theatre was in Riebeeck Square (Hottentot Square). The authorship of The Honeymoon is uncertain.

Sunday 12th¹⁸ The Belzoni came in from England¹⁹ bringing Lt. Col. Thompson & their Family they had the misfortune to lose three of their Children on the Voyage, from putrid sore throats.²⁰ Three Vessels came in from England.²¹

Monday 13th The Bells dined here.

Tuesday 14th The Lord Hungerford came in from England²² bringing the news of the King's death which happened the 26th of June.²³ In consequence of this event, the Ball which was to have taken place this evening at Govt. House was put off.

Wednesday 15th Mr & Mrs Brownrigg (going on to Calcutta)²⁴ Mr & Mrs Wynch, Mr & Miss Pattle, the Honble. Mr Taylor, & the Bells dined at Govt. House - I was unwell & could not come down.

Thursday 16th Louisa's & Arthur's Birthday was kept today.²⁵ The Misses Brownrigg spent the morning here.²⁶ The Bells, Mr Bell, Mr Duncan, Col. & Mrs Smith and Mr Baillie dined here, also Col. Wade.

- 18 Lady Frances: "Lisinka Lady of the Sunday School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 19 The bark Belzoni had sailed from the Downs on 23 June, bound for Mauritius. She brought a small mail. (Gazette 24 Sept. 1830)
- 20 Lt-Col. Robert Thomson (commissioned 26 Dec. 1829, Royal Engineers), his wife, and seven children had sailed from the Downs on 23 June. En route three of their children had died. (Gazette 24 Sept. 1830)
- 21 In addition to the Belzoni, the Venus and the Gowan arrived from England. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 22 The Lord Hungerford had sailed from Plymouth on 13 July for the Cape and Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Sept. 1830)
- 23 The news was unofficially announced in the press: "The Colonial Office, 16 September 1830. English Newspapers were received on the 14th instant, containing intelligence of the Death of His Majesty King George the Fourth. It appears this melancholy event took place at Windsor, on the morning of the 26th of June, on which Day His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence was proclaimed King, by the Style and Title of William the Fourth. No official intelligence of these events having been received, their public announcement cannot be made with the accustomed formalities. John Bell, Secretary to Government." (Gazette 17 Sept. 1830)
- 24 Mr & Mrs Brownrigg were passengers on board the Lord Hungerford which had arrived in Table Bay on 14 Sept., and sailed for Calcutta on 20 Sept. (Gazette 24 Sept. 1830)
- 25 It was Louisa Cole's twelfth birthday that day. Arthur would turn thirteen on 24 August. (PRO 30/43/83)
- 26 The previous day Lady Frances had taken them "to Green Point &c." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Friday 17th²⁷ I went to Dine at Col. Wade's with Captn. During and Dr. Dyce - we met Mr Clarke & Mr Baillie. Fanny went in the evening to Catherine's who had a small party.

Saturday 18th²⁸

Sunday 19th We put on Mourning for the King. The Lord Hungerford sailed, with Mrs Lindsay on board; and put back again.²⁹ Mr Wake came from Simon's Bay. Mr Bowles came in the evening.

Monday 20th The Bells, Col. England, Col. Lodewicke (going to India)³⁰ Mr Warden, Mr Alexander, Mr Clarke Burton & Mr Rex, dined here.

Tuesday 21st A very small family party consisting of Sir Lowry, Fanny, Captn. Greville & myself.

Wednesday 22nd The Govr. inspected the 75th Regiment, the Children & I, went to see it. Fanny's Birthday was celebrated. The Tweed arrived from Mauritius bringing us letters & parcels.³¹ Mr Miller returned in her. (Lord John's Birthday).³² The Bells, Mr Duncan, the Smiths, the Wades, the Henry Cloetes, Mr Bowles & Mr Miller were the Guests at dinner - In the evening we had various pastimes.³³

[P34]

Thursday 23rd Capts. Hall & Keates,³⁴ Captain Logie & Mr Campbell dined here.³⁵

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- 27 Lady Frances: "Took the Miss Brownriggs to the Museum" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 28 Lady Frances: "rain till twelve o'clock - Drove to Protea." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 29 This is odd because Lady Frances noted that it was a "Very fine day." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 30 Lt-Col. Lodwick, his wife and three daughters, were on board the Abberton which had sailed from Portsmouth on 10 July, for Bombay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 18 Sept. 1830)
 - 31 The H.M.S. Tweed had sailed from Mauritius on 22 Sept. for Simon's Bay. (Gazette 1 Oct. 1830)
 - 32 Lord John S. Churchill, Commander of H.M.S. Tweed, had sailed from Mauritius on 1 Sept. for Simon's Bay, and arrived there on his birthday, the 22 Sept. (Gazette 1 Oct. 1830)
 - 33 Lady Frances: "The children danced & played all sorts of games in the evening." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 34 Captain S.M.F. Hall had arrived on board the Protector on 12 Aug. Captain J.S. Keats had arrived on board the Bengal Merchant on 23 Aug. Both men were officers of H.M. 75th Regiment. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14, 25 Aug. 1830; Cape Almanack 1831)

- Friday 24th A small family party.
- Saturday 25th³⁶ Dr. Clarke, Mr Grant & Mr A. Balfour dined here.
- Sunday 26th A family party & Mr A. Balfour.
- Monday 27th³⁷ The Bells, Mr Bayley and his Son, Major Harris, Captn. Stockenstrom, Captn. Sutherland & Captain Markham dined at Govt. House.
- Tuesday 28th Fanny, the Children, Captain During, Mr Cooke and I, went to hear the 72d Band by the invitation of Major Hall - we met Catherine, Mrs Smith & Mrs Logie - as usual we had an excellent Luncheon. Sir Lowry and Fanny dined at the Bell's. I dined at home with Captain During, Mr Balfour & Mr Miller.
- Wednesday 29th Mr Arthur Balfour & Mr Joseph Nourse³⁸ dined with us.
- Thursday 30th The Govr. & Fanny dined at Col. Wade's, Captain During and I, at Mr Ebdens's.
- October
- Friday 1st Mr Duthie, Mr Bowles & Mr Skerrow dined at Govt. House - I dined at the Bells - where I met the Fitzroys, the Stockenstroms, Col. England, Captn. Halifax,³⁹ Captain Markham, Sir Thomas Sevestra & Mr Miller.
- Saturday 2nd The Bells, Col. & Mrs Thompson and Miss Thompson,⁴⁰ and the Wades dined here.

- 35 Lady Frances: "Lisinka dined with Col. Wade, we dined alone." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 36 Lady Frances recorded that "The Boys rode to Protea with their Father." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 37 Lady Frances: "Very rainy stormy day throughout." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 38 Mr Joseph Nourse, probably one of Henry Nourse's sons. The late Commodore Joseph Nourse (1779-1824), Henry Nourse's brother, had contracted fever on a return voyage from Mombasa in Sept. 1824 and died at sea. (Krüger 3:660; Lady Frances, letter to Lady Malmesbury, PRO 30/43/32)
- 39 Capt. Robert D. Hallifax, of H.M. 75th Regiment, had arrived at the Cape on board the bark Lady East on 22 Aug. (Gazette 27 Aug. 1830; Cape Almanack 1832)
- 40 The Thomsons had arrived on board the Belzoni on 12 Sept. (Gazette 24 Sept. 1830) Lt-Col. Robert Thomson was Commander of the Royal Engineers. (Cape Almanack 1831)

- Sunday 3rd Mr Bowles and Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.
- Monday 4th Messrs Robinson, Pitts & Frith and Mr Hayward dined here; also Mr and Mrs Stewart. In the evening we all went to Col. Bell's (with the exception of the Governor) where there was a very pleasant impromptu dance.
- Tuesday 5th The first day of the Races,⁴¹ which were much better than those in April. Mr Van der Byle & Mr Van Reenen were the winners. Blucher & Aleppo were the winning Horses.⁴² Major Hall & Major Hammond⁴³ dined with us.
- Wednesday 6th Little Nett's Birthday⁴⁴ - Fanny went to the Races - I remained at home and officiated at a large Juvenile dinner.⁴⁵ Mr Rogerson was the winner this day. The Bells, Miss Blair, the Wades, Mr C. Burton, Mr Schomberg,⁴⁶ Captain Sinclair (lately arrived from Mauritius)⁴⁷ Mr Arthur Balfour & Mr Powel were the Guests at dinner.
- Thursday 7th Captain Stocker (from the Mauritius)⁴⁸ and Mr Campbell dined here, also Mr A. Balfour.
- Friday 8th The 3d day of the Races.⁴⁹ Mr Rogerson and Mr Van Reenen were the Winners. Escape and [P35] Aleppo the successful Horses. The

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- 41 Lady Frances: "Went there with the Children." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 42 "The Race for the Breeder's Purse ... proved of unusual excitement ... The Result of this Race is another feather in the cap of the fortunate breeder of Blucher, he having been the winner of this Purse each successive year. The Untried Purse was won by Mr Van Reenen's Aleppo, without much competition." (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Oct. 1830)
- 43 Major Frederick Hammond, of H.M. 75th Regiment, had arrived at the Cape on board the Protector on 12 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Aug. 1830)
- 44 Born at Port Louis, Mauritius, little Henrietta Cole turned four years old. (PRO 30/43/83)
- 45 Lady Frances: "The little Wades, Murrays & Clarkes dined with her." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 46 Probably the lawyer, Valentine Alexis Schonnberg (1787-1839), the owner of Feldhausen in Newlands. Similarly surnamed, Commodore Isaac Schomberg had arrived at Simon's Bay from Rio on 9 Jan. 1829 on board the H.M.S. Rose. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Jan. 1829)
- 47 Capt. Sinclair was from Mauritius. A firm of commercial boatmen, T. & J. Sinclair, is listed at 64 Bree Street, Cape Town. (Cape Almanack 1830)
- 48 Captain Stocker, of the Royal Engineers, was from Mauritius. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 49 Lady Frances commented in her journal: "indifferent sport" (PRO 30/43/114)

Governor dined at the Turf Club dinner. Lady Mary,⁵⁰ Catherine, Miss Blair & Mrs Wade dined at Govt. House - Miss Pigott came.⁵¹

Saturday 9th⁵² The Bells & Miss Blair, Col. Fitzroy and Lady Mary, Col. Blake, Major & Mrs Rogers, Mr John Stoll, Col. & Mrs Smith, dined here. Col. Wade, Captain Haultain & Mr Bowles came in the evening.

Sunday 10th⁵³ Col. Wade, & Captain Haultain dined here; also Mr Arthur Balfour.

Monday 11th Col. and Mrs Wade, Col. Storay, Capt. Haultain, Mr and Mrs Nash, Judge Burton, Clarke Burton Esqre, Mr Clarke, Capt. Greville, & Mr Arthur Balfour dined here. Miss Piggott went away.

Tuesday 12th The Bells, Captain England, Mr Graham and Mr Walker, dined at Govt. House. Captain Greville, Captain Daring, Dr. Dyce and myself dined at Col. Wade's where we met a Mauritius party (with the exception of Mr Clarke Burton) viz. Mr & Mrs Nash, Mr Schomberg, and Mr Stevenson,⁵⁴ who was just arrived in the Bencoolen from Mauritius⁵⁵ and brought an account that that Island had been in a state of commotion owing to the expected Ordinance respecting Slaves - a most violent address had been presented to the Governor - and scarcely any French appeared at the Ball given in honor of His Majesty William 4th and several of the English were insulted in going to Govt. House. Placards were stuck up all over the Town, threatening the French who should accept the invitation to the Ball.⁵⁶

50 i.e. Lady Mary FitzRoy. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

51 Lady Frances: "Miss Pigot came to stay for a few days." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Major George Pigot had died on 20 June and his daughter had travelled to Cape Town with Mr Nourse in September. (Rainier 105)

52 Lady Frances: "Hot but fine day - Last day of the Races - good sport." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

53 "I went to School for Lisinka." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

54 i.e. Dr. Stevenson.

55 The Bencoolen had sailed from Mauritius on 21 Sept. for Table Bay and London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 13 Oct. 1830)

56 "A report ... has lately been circulated in the Colony of Mauritius, stating that instructions had been received from his Majesty's Government at home, directing that all Slaves imported into that Island subsequently to the year 1814, should be manumitted ... its circulation excited a considerable ferment: and ... already some of the Capitalists have refused to advance money to Planters. Scarcely any of the French Officers of the Government, either in the Civil or Judicial Departments, attended, as we are informed, the Government Ball, held last month; and even a few French Ladies who ventured to attend, were pelted on their way to the Government House." (South African Commercial Advertiser 16 Oct. 1830)

- Wednesday 13th Sir Lowry inspected the 72d Regiment. Major Hall, Captain Greville, Col. England, Mr Cloete, Mr Gardiner (from India),⁵⁷ Mr Raymond, Mr Slater, Mr Bance, dined at Govt. House. Mrs William Bird came.⁵⁸
- Thursday 14th⁵⁹ The Bells dined here.
- Friday 15th Catherine and Mrs Smith dined here. Miss Pigott came to us.⁶⁰ There was a Soirée, which looked dismal & went off rather heavily.⁶¹ The 75th Band played.
- Saturday 16th Mrs William Bird went away. Lady Mary Fitzroy, Col. Bell, Charles Bell, Mr Rogerson, Mr Bayley, Mr Gardiner, Mr Tyson,⁶² Mr Payne, Dr. Twaine & Mr Stevenson dined at Government House.⁶³
- Sunday 17th⁶⁴ Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.
- Monday 18th Fanny took Miss Piggott to Sans Souci.⁶⁵ The Bells and Mr Clarke Burton dined here. I was unwell & confined to my room.
- Tuesday 19th Their Excellencies &c. dined at Col. Wade's to celebrate his Birthday⁶⁶ - I was too unwell to go.
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- 57 The Hon. C. Gardener had arrived from India on board the Bencoolen which had sailed from Mauritius on 21 Sept., arriving in Table Bay on 12 Oct. (South African Commercial Advertiser 13 Oct. 1830)
- 58 Lady Frances: "Mr & Mrs Bird came to stay a few days." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 59 Lady Frances: "Fair morning - rain all the afternoon." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 60 Lady Frances: "I fetched Miss Pigot from Sans Souci to stay for a few days." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) i.e. Kate Pigot.
- 61 Lady Frances: "A party in the evening - Small & dull." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 62 i.e. Lt C. Tyrsen.
- 63 Lady Frances noted: "We heard from Mr Stephenson who arrived a few days ago of a serious disturbance at Mauritius, in consequence of a Report that it was the intention of the Govr. to liberate all the Slaves imported since 1814 - Seditious meetings & addresses had taken place, only two French families had attended the Birthday Ball & these were insulted for doing so." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 64 Lady Frances: "Lisinka took Ly: Mary's Sunday at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 65 Lady Frances added: "& then drove to Protea." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 66 It was Col. Wade's forty-sixth birthday.

Wednesday 20th We heard of the arrival of the Curlew at [P36] Saldanha Bay.⁶⁷ Captn. Harding, who came in her, arrived here & brought us the news⁶⁸ that Charles 10th had fled out of France in consequence of a Revolution in that country, and that the Duke of Orleans had been made Lt. General of the Kingdom. Captn. Harding is appointed to the Jaseur! A Quadrille party at Mrs Stoll's to which I could not go. Mr Johnson (from Swellingdam) Mr Campbell, Mr Duthie and Mr Armitage dined here.

Thursday 21st Captain Greville went away.⁶⁹ Col. Thompson,⁷⁰ Captain Markham & Mr Baillie dined here.

Friday 22nd The Kate arrived from the Mauritius and brought very unpleasant accounts of the state of the Island.⁷¹ Fanny, the Children and myself⁷² went to see a Play performed by the Soldiers of the 72nd (Guy Mannering). There was a large party at the Theatre - and after the Play, the Officers gave a Ball and Supper - I was too unwell to be present at this part of the Entertainment. There was an alarm of Fire, at Sir John Wylde's which occasioned a good deal of noise and bustle in the Town; the whole of the mischief consisted in a Chimney being on fire.⁷³

Captn. Greville came from Simon's Town.

Saturday 23rd The Bells, Captain Greville & Captn. Trotter (of the Curlew)⁷⁴ dined at Govt. House.

67 The H.M.S. Curlew had sailed from Plymouth on 8 Aug. and had arrived at Saldanha Bay the previous day. (South African Commercial Advertiser 23 Oct. 1830)

68 English papers had been received dating up to the 4 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 23 Oct. 1830)

69 Lady Frances: "Captain Greville went to Simon's Bay." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

70 i.e. Lt-Col. Robert Thomson, of the Royal Engineers. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

71 Lady Frances recorded: "Things still in an unsettled state there & much ferment among the people." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

72 Lady Frances: "Dined early to go to a Play acted by the 72d Regt soldiers - took the children there." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

73 The Commercial Advertiser reported: "On the night of Friday last, one of the Chimnies [sic] of Sir John Wylde's house was discovered to be on fire, which occasioned an immediate sensation of alarm throughout the town: the bells were set ringing, and many of the streets were more or less illuminated by candles promptly placed in the windows by the inhabitants, numbers of whom anxiously reached the spot. Fortunately the flames did not extend beyond the range of the Chimney, and the building sustained no material damage; but we regret to add that the housekeeper, in endeavouring to extinguish the fire by means of a wet blanket, fell from a considerable height and sustained much personal injury." (South African Commercial Advertiser 23 Oct. 1830)

74 The H.M.S. Curlew had arrived in Table Bay on 22 Oct. under the command of Captain H.D. Trotter. (South African Commercial Advertiser 23 Oct. 1830)

- Sunday 24th⁷⁵ The Wades, and Mr Arthur Balfour, dined here.
- Monday 25th Captain Greville went away for good!⁷⁶ The Bells, the Fitzroys, the Wades and Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.
- Tuesday 26th The Wades dined here and Mr Arthur Balfour. A second Soirée, which ended in a Dance that was the more enjoyed from its being unexpected; it was however a very small party.
- Wednesday 27th Mr Armitage dined here.
- Thursday 28th Col. England, Captain Markham and Mr Joseph Nourse dined here. The Espoir sailed.⁷⁷
- Friday 29th The Bells dined here. I dined at Col. Wade's where I met the Smiths, Col. England, Captain England, Mr Watt, Mr Lauson, & Mr Armitage.
- Saturday 30th A family party at dinner. The Zenobia arrived⁷⁸ and brought the news that the Duke of Orleans was proclaimed King of the French under the title of Phillip 1st and that the deposed King & several members of his Family had taken shelter in England.⁷⁹
- Sunday 31st Lord John came from Simon's Town.⁸⁰ Col. England, Major Hall, Major Hammond dined here.

[P37]

November

- Monday 1st Captain England, Captain Hall, Mr Pattle, Mr Gardiner, dined here.

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- 75 Lady Frances noted: "A fire broke out at a Bakers in John St. which kept the gentlemen up till near two o'clock in the morning. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 76 Lady Frances: "Capt. Greville left us early to embark for England in a day or two." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 77 The Espoir, under the command of Captain Greville, sailed from Simon's Bay for England. (Gazette 5 Nov. 1830)
- 78 The Zenobia had sailed from London on 19 Aug. for the Cape and Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 3 Nov. 1830)
- 79 It was reported: "By the Zenobia English Papers as late as the 30th of August have been received." (South African Commercial Advertiser 3 Nov. 1830)
- 80 Lady Frances: "Lord John Churchill came to stay with us." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) His ship, the H.M.S. Tweed was anchored in Simon's Bay. (Gazette 1 Oct. 1830)

- Tuesday 2nd We heard today of poor Lady Malmesbury's death which took place on the 20th of August.⁸¹ - Captain Harding & Mr Clarke Burton dined here. Fanny and I, dined together. A grand Ball was given to Lady Mary Fitzroy at the Society House, on her departure from the Colony. Mr Menzies, Captn. Stockenstrom, Col. Smith, Dr Leisching⁸² & Mr Miller were the Stewards.
- Wednesday 3rd A small family party at Dinner.
- Thursday 4th The Bells dined at Govt. House. The long expected Gambiar came in⁸³ - and brought the Official account of the King's death, from the Horse Guards, and a Gazette from the Colonial Office.
- Friday 5th The Castle & Fort, fired minute Guns - and at one o'clock, the two Regiments appeared on the Parade when a Royal salute was fired and a Feu de Joie⁸⁴ for his present Majesty. The Governor had a good many Gentlemen to dinner. Fanny & I dined with Catherine. Captain Trotter went away.⁸⁵ The Officers of the 75th gave a Ball which is said to have gone off, extremely well.
- Saturday 6th A small family party. The Candian arrived from Mauritius, bringing Mr A. D'Epinay and several other French Gentlemen.⁸⁶

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- 81 Lady Frances: "Received a letter in the morning giving very alarming accounts - in the forenoon was told her death on the 20th Augt. was announced in the Papers!" (journal, PRO 30/43/114) The Commercial Advertiser reported: "It is our painful task to announce the death of the Countess of Malmesbury, mother of Lady Frances Cole and Lady Catherine Bell, at the advanced age of 70 years. In consequence of this event, the Military Bands did not perform in the Government Gardens on Sunday last. The following notification of her Ladyship's decease appears in the Hampshire Telegraph of the 30th of August: 'Died, at her house in Charles-street, Berkeley-square on the 20th of August, Harriet Mary, Countess of Malmesbury, in the 70th year of her age.'" (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 Nov. 1830)
- 82 Dr Carl Ludwig Wilhelm Liesching (1786-1841), known as Louis, practiced as a physician and accoucheur. He was a committee member of both the South African College and the Public Library in Cape Town. (McMagh xiv; Burrows 137)
- 83 The bark Gambia had sailed from the Downs on 3 July, and from Teneriffe on 5 Aug., for Table Bay and Mauritius. (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Nov. 1830) Her voyage to the Cape had taken four months.
- 84 "(pl. feux de joie) Fr. lit. Fire of Joy. A salute fired by musketry on occasions of public rejoicing, so that it should pass from man to man rapidly and steadily down one rank and up the other, giving one long continuous sound." (OED)
- 85 Captain Trotter was Commander of the H.M.S. Curlew anchored in Simon's Bay. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 86 The bark Candian had sailed from Mauritius on 10 Oct. for Table Bay and London, with a cargo of sugar. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 Nov. 1830) Mr Adrian D'Epinay, a Creole, and one of the ablest men at the Mauritius Bar, was deputed by the

- Sunday 7th The French Gentlemen breakfasted here.⁸⁷
- Monday 8th The Bells, Mr Miller and the French Gentlemen dined here.
- Tuesday 9th
here. Col. & Mrs Wade, the French Gentlemen & Mr Miller dined
- Wednesday 10th Fanny dined with Catherine. I accompanied Sir Lowry,
Lord John⁸⁸ and Captn. During, to Col. Wade's where we met Col. England,
Major Hall, Major Hammond, Col. Bell and Monr. A. D'Epinay.
- Thursday 11th Fanny and I, dined with Catherine Bell. The Govr. had a good
many Gentlemen to dine with him.
- Friday 12th The French Gentlemen and Captn. Harding dined at Govt.
House. I, accompanied by Lord John and Captain During, dined at Sir John
Wylde's - where we met Judge Burton & Mrs Burton, Mr and Mrs Nash, Col.
& Mrs Munro and Miss Taylor and Mr Armitage.
- Saturday 13th Monr. D'Epinay, Monr. Rudelle, Monr. Giffroy and Monr.
Pouquard went away.⁸⁹ The Wades and I, dined at Sans Souci,⁹⁰ where we met the
Thompsons, Col. England, Col. Fitzgerald,⁹¹ [P38] Captain Markham, Captn.
Trotter & Archdeacon Scott, lately arrived from Swan River.
- Captain Scott came.
- Sunday 14th Mr Archdeacon Scott, and Mr Campbell dined here; also Captn.
Trotter.

inhabitants to go to England to represent their interests in the new Charter of Justice then under consideration. (PRO 30/43/97, 36-37)

87 The French Gentlemen on board the Candian were: Mons. D'Epinay, Ruddell, Poiyade, and Geffray. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 Nov. 1830; Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

88 i.e. Lord John Churchill.

89 The Candian sailed for London. (Cape Almanack 1832)

90 Lady Frances: "Lisinka dined at Mr Menzies." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

91 Lt-Col. Edward Fitzgerald, of H.M. 98th Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1831)

- Monday 15th The Bells, Col. Wade, General Hawker (going to India),⁹² Mr Devereux,⁹³ Archdeacon Scott, Major Molesworth, Mr MacKenzie (98th),⁹⁴ Captn. Trotter, Dr. Murray, and Captn. Harding dined here.
- Tuesday 16th The Governor &c &c dined with the 75th. Fanny, Mr Cooke & I dined with Catherine and met Mrs Wade.
- Wednesday 17th Willy's Birthday;⁹⁵ the Bells, the Wades, the Smiths, Mr Devereux, Col. Fitzgerald, Lord John and Captn. Trotter, & all the family party met to celebrate it. Mrs Menzies gave a Ball, which gave the greatest satisfaction to all present.
- Thursday 18th There were a few persons at dinner at Govt. House.⁹⁶ I dined at Col. Bell's where I met Genl. & Mrs Hawker, Col. & Mrs Wade, Col. Fitzgerald & Captn. Trotter. Mrs Hawker sang delightfully.
- Friday 19th The Governor, accompanied by Captn. During and Mr Balfour⁹⁷ set out on a Tour.⁹⁸ Mrs Wade dined at Govt. House; and in the evening, we all went to Catherine Bells where we met Genl. & Mrs Hawker, the Smiths, Lord John & Messrs Campbell & Baillie.
- Saturday 20th Captain Trotter went away.⁹⁹ I dined at Col. Munro's, accompanied by Lord John - the other Guests were Genl. & Mrs Hawker, Miss Wylde, Col. England, Captns. Halifax and Hall. Many persons came in the evening, which was made very agreeable by music & dancing. The long

92 Major General Hawker and his wife were on board the ship Neptune which had sailed from Portsmouth on 31 Aug. bound for Madras and Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Nov. 1830)

93 The Hon. Mr Devereux was also on board the Neptune. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Nov. 1830)

94 Ensign Roderick MacKenzie of H.M. 98th Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1830; not in Cape Almanack 1831)

95 i.e. William Cole, turned eleven years old on the 18 Nov. (PRO 30/43/83) Lady Frances noted: "Willy's birthday kept - The little Wades & L. Cloete dined with the Children." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

96 The party included Captain J. Cumberlege of the ship Neptune. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Nov. 1830; Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

97 Lady Frances: "Franco" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

98 Lady Frances: "A foggy morning ... Lowry set out at 1/2 past 7 ... for Saldanha Bay." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

99 His ship, the H.M.S. Curlew, was to sail out of Simon's Bay shortly. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Nov. 1830)

expected Talbot came in late in the evening, & brought us despatches & very few letters.¹⁰⁰

Sunday 21st¹⁰¹ Col. & Mrs Wade, dined here.

Monday 22nd Captn. Harding came to take leave of us previous to sailing for the Mauritius in the Curlew.¹⁰² The Wades went into the country. Genl. & Mrs Hawker, the Bells, Mr Devereux, Col. England, Col. Wade, Lord John, Captn. Dickinson,¹⁰³ Mr Campbell, Mr Arthur Balfour, Col. and Mrs Smith dined here. We had some delightful Singing in the evening.

Tuesday 23rd Mrs Hawker spent part of the morning here.¹⁰⁴ A small family party at dinner, including Lord John¹⁰⁵ & Captain Dickinson.

Wednesday 24th Col. Fitzroy & Lady Mary, Mr Campbell & Mr Robinson came to take leave¹⁰⁶ - I was ill in bed the whole day.¹⁰⁷ Fanny & Mr Cooke dined tête-à-tête.

[P39]

Thursday 25th Lord John, left us, much to our regret!¹⁰⁸ Captn. Dickinson went away. Fanny and Mr Cooke spent the evening at Col. Bell's who had a dinner party.¹⁰⁹

100 The H.M.S. Talbot had sailed from St. Helena on 24 Oct. for Simon's Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Nov. 1830)

101 Lady Frances: "Lisinka's day at the School - Lord John went to the Bay." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

102 The Curlew sailed from Simon's Bay for Mauritius later that day. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Nov. 1830)

103 Lady Frances: "Lord John returned from Simon's Bay bringing Capt Dickinson of the Talbot with him." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

104 Lady Frances: "Mrs Hawker came to see the Shells &c." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Sir Lowry had become interested in conchology whilst in Mauritius.

105 Lady Frances: "Lord John took his parting dinner with us ... I heard from Lowry from beyond Mr Duckett's." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

106 The FitzRoys, Mr Campbell (of the 72nd Regt.), Mr Robinson, &c. were returning to England on board the H.M.S. Tweed, then anchored in Simon's Bay. (Gazette 1 Oct. 1830)

107 Lisinka was ill for a time, recovering only by the 29 November. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

108 Lord John Churchill, commander of the H.M.S. Tweed, was to set sail for England the following day. (South African Commercial Advertiser 1 Dec. 1830)

109 Lady Frances: "Lisinka unwell & did not go." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Friday 26th Dr. Dyce, who went to the Bay yesterday, returned & reported that the Tweed sailed about 10 o' clock this day. The Bells dined here. I was too unwell to come down.

Saturday 27th A partie quarte [sic], consisting of Fanny, Dr. Dyce, Mr Cooke and myself.¹¹⁰

Sunday 28th Fanny and the Children & Mr Cooke dined at Col. Bell's. The Badger came in from Mauritius.¹¹¹

Monday 29th¹¹² All the party, with the exception of myself dined at Col. Bell's.

Tuesday 30th Fanny &c again spent the day with Catherine. I went to Camp's Bay; where I remained till Thursday 9th of December and spent my time very pleasantly - but nothing occurred worth recording,¹¹³ excepting the most violent Southeaster on Wednesday the 8th; which rendered it impossible for me to quit Camp's Bay as I intended.¹¹⁴ Mr Alexander, Mr Miller, Capt. Markham and Dr. Clarke, were guests there, during the course of my visit. The Thomsons and Dr. Dyce called in the morning.

Fanny & the Children went to Protea on Wednesday Decr. 1st.¹¹⁵ The Govr. &c. returned on Tuesday 7th.¹¹⁶ PROTEA

December

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- 110 Lady Frances: "Lisinka still very poorly." (journal, PRO 30/43/114). It was a 'partie à quatre' and a 'partie carrée' (Professor M.M. Lenta).
- 111 The H.M.S. Badger had sailed from Mauritius on 11 Nov. for Table Bay (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 Dec. 1830). She brought the news "that the Maidstone had been detained there at the request of the Govr." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114).
- 112 Lady Frances recorded: "Heard from Lowry from Clanwilliam suffering so much from heat that he had decided to return home sooner - Lisha better." (journal, PRO 30/43/114).
- 113 Two days of dense fog from the evening of the 30th Nov. had contributed to the loss of the Singapore near Green Point on 1 Dec. (Lady Frances: journal, PRO 30/43/114).
- 114 Lady Frances: "A very strong S. Easter - more felt here than I can remember it." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 115 Lady Frances: "Lunched at Govt. House - & drove to Protea in the afternoon." (journal, PRO 30/43/114).
- 116 Arthur Cole had gone to Stellenbosch to meet his father on 3 Dec. According to Lady Frances' journal, they travelled to Paarl on the 4th; and arrived at Protea on the 7th at about eleven o'clock (PRO 30/43/114).

- Thursday 9th¹¹⁷ I came with Fanny & the Govr. to Protea which I found much embellished and the House in the most perfect order - my own room has been new furnished.
- Friday 10th Some morning visitors, amongst the rest Dr. Dyce.¹¹⁸
- Saturday 11th The Bells, Arthur Balfour & Mr Ford came - the latter went away in the evening. More morning Visitors, & Dr. Dyce again to visit Florence who had a cold & sore throat.
- Sunday 12th Fanny went to Town to attend the Sunday School.¹¹⁹
- Monday 13th The Govr. &c went to Town. Dr. Dyce called. Col. Bell & Catherine went away.
- Tuesday 14th Major Hammond, Mr Clarke Burton & Mr Miller dined & slept at Protea.
- Wednesday 15th James' Birthday;¹²⁰ a large party of young people were assembled to celebrate the event.¹²¹ The Bells, the Wades, Mrs William Bird, Dr. Dyce & Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.
- Thursday 16th The Govr. &c went to Town.
- Friday 17th The Bells went away.
- Saturday 18th Mr Arthur Balfour came.
- Sunday 19th We went to Church.¹²²

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- 117 Lady Frances: "Went to Town for Masters - Children dined with Catherine - Lisinka met me from Camp's Bay & returned to Protea with me." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 118 Florence Cole had a sore throat on the 9th, and was "very poorly" the following day. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 119 Lady Frances: "I went to Town & took the School for Mrs Judge - Mr Cooke read Prayers at Protea." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 120 James "Jumbo" Lowry Cole's ninth birthday. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114; PRO 30/43/83)
- 121 Lady Frances: "The little Wades, Birds, Hares, & L. Cloete, spent the day with him." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 122 Lady Frances: "Went to Church at Wynberg - very hot there." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Monday 20th The Govr. &c went to Town. Mr & Mrs MacKay called. Mr A. Balfour went away.

Tuesday 21st Fanny, the Girls & myself went to Town to [P40] make Christmas purchases.

Wednesday 22nd¹²³

Thursday 23rd The Govr. & Fanny &c &c went to Town.¹²⁴ Dr. Dyce dined & slept at Protea.

Friday 24th The Bells came.

Saturday 25th A very hot day. Mr Rogerson and Mr Bayley joined the Family party at the Christmas Dinner - Col. Wade was very unwell so neither of them came to Protea.¹²⁵ Dr. Dyce came to dinner. The Rambler arrived.¹²⁶

Sunday 26th¹²⁷

Monday 27th Mr A. Balfour went away.

Tuesday 28th Col. Smith came here to Breakfast. The Bells went away.¹²⁸ A very hot day.

Wednesday 29th¹²⁹ -

Thursday 30th I went to Town with the Governor. Mr Miller dined & slept at Protea.

123 Lady Frances: "Very pleasant day - Took a ride -" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

124 Lady Frances: "Went to Cape Town for the Children's Masters." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

125 Lady Frances: "The little Wades dined with the Children." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

126 The brig Rambler had sailed from Torbay on 5 Oct. for Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Dec. 1830)

127 Lady Frances: "Went to Church at Wynberg - Mrs Judge's day at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

128 Lady Frances: "The Bells went to Town." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

129 Lady Frances: "Fine day - but hot." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Friday 31st The Bells, Captn. Stockenstrom & Mr Marsh came. I dined at Sans Souci, where the Child was Christened¹³⁰ - in the evening there was a large party - and the New Year was danced in very merrily.

130 i.e. The Menzies' child. William Menzies had married Anna, daughter of Captain H.H. Christian, on 23 Feb. 1828. They lost their first child when he was almost a year old. The christening of their second child would have been cause for celebration. (Krüger 3:602)

The Journal of Elizabeth Cozens

The Journal - 1831

The new year began with a wedding: Dr Robert Dyce and Antoinette Louisa Stoll (1813-1886) were married on 5 January 1831. Lisinka had known Dr Dyce since 1825, when she had arrived in Mauritius, and would have taken some interest in his progress, both professional and romantic. Young Dr Dyce had travelled out to Mauritius with the Coles in 1823 on board the Charles Grant, a merchantman, and had formed a friendship with young Florence Cole immediately. Lady Frances Cole reported this in a letter to her aunt:

They have all made many friends on board - but my daughters have both showed a medical taste - Florence having attached herself to our Dr Dyce, & Louisa to the Ship Doctor, Strange by name. I must say Pop has displayed the better taste, for Doctor Dyce is a very gentlemanlike pleasing man & we are very fortunate in getting him.¹

They were fortunate because Robert was a protégé of Sir McGregor MD and, early the following year, was promoted in rank, earning Sir Lowry Cole's official approbation:

I was rejoiced to hear by a Vessel which arrived yesterday that your protege Dyce has been promoted - I hope it is true as I think very highly of him indeed - whatever faults he has (and who is without them?) will wear away with Youth I hope.²

Lisinka had first mentioned Dr Dyce in her letter to Lady Malmesbury from Reduit:

All the Children have had the Chicken pox, at least what Fanny & I call so; though Dr Dyce calls it by another name, the swine pox - Louisa &

Florence had it very full, the rest slightly & not any of them were made ill by it.³

When Sir Lowry Cole's brother, Arthur, had arrived from India to all appearances a shadow of the man they imagined him to have been, it had been Dr Dyce's opinion "that there is nothing really wrong about him, & that change of air & a little change of system will quite restore his health."⁴ In the same letter Lisinka mentioned the health of the children - always a matter of interest to their grandmother - and suggested that Dr Dyce was in great demand although it was not his regular position:

They have all had very bad colds & we once more thought that the Whooping Cough was arrived but it proved another false alarm - the heat makes the Baby look more languid & she has been less thriving the last fortnight but not really ill tho' requiring constant care, & on her account Dr Dyce is again an inmate here, instead of being at the Military Post four miles off - the rest are quite well.⁵

When Sir Lowry Cole was appointed as Governor of the Cape, Dr Dyce accompanied the family to the Colony, although, upon their arrival, Sir Lowry found that Dr Dyce's appointment had not been confirmed. He wrote at once to Sir James McGregor:

I was surprised, on my arrival here, to find that Dr Arthur had not yet received any communication from you respecting Dr Dyce's appointment to the Staff here.⁶

Dr J. Arthur M.D. was the Deputy Inspector of Hospitals and Principal Medical Officer at the Cape (Cape Almanack 1829). Apparently, he left the Cape in 1828, although McMagh suggests it was two years earlier (134). By 1828 Doctors Lys and Murray were the two remaining Medical Committee members (McMagh 134). However, the question of Dr Dyce's position was resolved and his appointment was announced officially:

His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to appoint Robert Dyce, esq. M.D. to be a Member of the Supreme Medical Committee, and to

do the Duty of Vaccinating Surgeon, during the absence on leave of
W.H. Lys, esq. - Cape of Good Hope, 13th Jan. 1829.⁷

At the beginning of the year Dr Dyce was listed in the Cape Almanack as the fourth Assistant Surgeon to the Forces.⁸ By 1831 Dr Dyce had been promoted to the position of Household Physician to Sir Lowry Cole. He was also a member of the Medical Committee, the committee of the Public Library, and a secretary of the South African Institution; (Burrows 137). This was Dr Dyce's standing at the time of his wedding.⁹

The Wedding was held at the home of the Honourable J.W. Stoll, the Treasurer and Accountant General, in Green Point. Dr Dyce's address in 1831 and 1832 was no. 8 Grave Street; thereafter until their departure in 1833 the newly married couple lived at no. 3 Strand Street, Antoinette's father's house.¹⁰ Dr John Murray M.D., Physician to the Forces, at that time lived next door at no. 2.

In those days Strand Street was a fashionable street. Mr W. Brook, drawing master and miniature painter, lived on the corner of Strand and Long streets; Mrs Hamilton's Seminary for Young Ladies occupied no. 51 Strand Street and Mrs Rose's Seminary for Young Ladies, no. 8 (Picard 94-100). Next door, at no. 9, lived Mr P.B. Borchers, Judge of Police. Amongst other people listed as residents of Strand Street were a boatman, a laundress, the Minister of the Lutheran Church, a shoemaker, a tobacconist, a watchmaker and a wine-merchant.¹¹

Another wedding was celebrated on 1 March, which also happened to be Lisinka's birthday. Miss Elizabeth Cook, who had been a faithful housekeeper of Lady Frances's and had travelled with them to Mauritius and the Cape, married a Mr Robert Johnstone at the Reformed Dutch Church in Cape Town.

Colonel Wade had been ailing for some time and Lisinka moved to no. 1 Keerom Street for a week in mid-March and another three weeks at the end of the month to assist Mrs Wade. During these periods Lisinka kept no record of events, noting in her Journal: "I do not know what was passing at Protea." (17 March 1831). This is consistent with the belief that Lisinka's journal was kept largely as a social

record for the Coles and bears out its inclusion amongst the Cole Papers. Again Lisinka spent fifteen days with the Wades in April and, therefore, most likely would have been present on the evening of 23 April in St George's Street when it was first lit with oil lamps. Unfortunately no record of her impression remains.

Once Colonel Wade had recovered sufficiently Lisinka was able to return to Protea, which she did on 26 April after attending the first day of the Races with the Governor and Lady Frances. It had been raining hard and a high north-west wind had blown as they had driven home. The next day the "melancholy news of the death of Frederic Robinson" arrived. Sir Lowry was affected deeply by the news. In his letter to Lord Goderich, Sir Lowry Cole reflects concern for his sister, Henrietta, and her husband, Lord Grantham:

I have been much upset by the account of poor Fredk. Robinson's death, and have become more desirous to go home since I heard of it, since I cannot but feel very great anxiety as to the consequence it may have on the health of both Grantham & poor Henrietta. The former has no object of worldly ambition to distract his mind from brooding over so very severe a calamity & I fear it may prove too much for him.¹²

Lisinka left Protea "for the Season" on 24 May, to be followed by Lady Frances and her children at the end of the month. It was about the time of young Florence Cole's fifteenth birthday that Sir Lowry's thoughts were turning homewards; also he was considering his children's education. He began his letter to Lord Goderich with these words:

My elder children are now of an age to make it very desirable that they should go home for their Education, & have had it in contemplation for some time past to write to you for permission to do so ... I should of course wish if possible to go home on leave of absence, & ... I shall be nearly 9 years absent from England by the time I propose going home, (February next,).¹³

That same day Sir Lowry Cole had written to Lt-General Sir Herbert Taylor: "My eldest girl is now fifteen & ought to go home - & my eldest boy fourteen."¹⁴ However, any thought of a comfortable, let alone safe, passage home could not be entertained in the winter months.

The north-west wind gathered force on the night of Saturday 16 July, and the subsequent gale proved disastrous for no less than three ships which were driven ashore. Lisinka and the Commodore had been dining with Lt-Col. Alexander Munro, of the Royal Artillery, and they saw one of the wrecked ships "very plainly from the windows" (16 July 1831). The following day the gale-force wind persisted and three more ships were wrecked. Of the ten ships anchored in Table Bay before the storm struck, four survived. The treachery of the winds at the Cape had long been known. The debate concerning the lack of a proper jetty or breakwater had also continued for some time. In 1825, for instance, Captain Robert Knox, commander of the Luna, had sounded a warning of such tragedies in a letter to Lord Charles Somerset:

If we take a survey of every Port in His Majesty's dominions, and compare their importance with the great commercial and increasing importance of the Cape Colony, Table Bay will be found, in the Winter Season, the most dangerous loading and delivering Port and anchorage in the world. It is indeed really appalling to the most stout hearted sailor, when riding here with his Bark, amidst foam and broken waves rolling unimpeded many hundred miles from the ocean, with an awful prospect under his lee, there being no outlet to run through as from the Downs or Yarmouth Roads, or from Plymouth Sound, into Bat water, or Hamose. But, here he must ride, until his vessel founders; or which is equally fatal, if she parts from her anchors, she is dashed to pieces upon the shore. (Arkin 199)

After the storm of 1831 the South African Commercial Advertiser published an anonymous letter from A. Sufferer: "Had the long talked of Jetty been built, the present destructive scene upon our Beach might have been avoided; if Hemp Cables could have

been got off in time, the Vessels now lying stranded might have been safely riding in Table Bay" (20 July 1831). The Editorial in the same newspaper was harsher in its criticism:

While viewing the numerous groups of anxious spectators that studded the shore during this melancholy period, the wrecks scattered along the beach, and the perilous situation of the seamen cut off from all human aid, and exposed to the rage of the elements, the various schemes once so warmly discussed for the purposes of meeting the dangers of such emergencies, but which seem lately to have fallen into oblivion, naturally recurred to the mind, and a feeling nearly allied to Indignation followed the painful reflection that all those plans had ended in words - that nothing whatever had been done - that it had not even been resolved that something should be done - and that for the protection of property and human life, floating within a few hundred yards of the ground on which we stood, Table Bay was as destitute of means and contrivances as it was when Vasco da Gama first entered it in the fifteenth century, ... Life-boats, steam-boats, stone jetties or piers, and breakwaters, have all vanished like dreams of the night. We see nothing at this moment along the range of our coast that reminds us of them - except a wreck of property nearly equal to the probable cost of all of them put together. (20 July 1831)

Although there were no life-boats, miraculously no lives were lost on this occasion. In the meantime, the public was called upon "to consider the situation of the unfortunate men who have been wrecked. They are numerous, and their wants must in many instances be very pressing. We cannot begin what we have in view better than by a deed of Charity - if it may not rather be called an act of Justice" (20 July 1831). Yet up until 1833 the survivors of a shipwreck were called upon to reimburse the authorities for monies advanced to them for "unavoidable expenses" incurred. Not only did they run

the risk of losing everything they possessed on the treacherous Cape rocks, but they also lost a portion of their future pay to defray their cost to the Company.

During Sir Lowry Cole's administration at the Cape neither a breakwater nor a jetty was built. Ships continued to be boarded and disembarked from small rowing boats, even whale boats. Indeed, when rough seas prevented the departure of the Governor and his family in July 1833, they were eventually rowed out to their ship and probably at the time reflected upon that evening, almost exactly two years before, when the wind had gathered strength and the storm clouds had gathered. Lady Frances Cole recorded in her journal: "Had a very rough ride to the Belle Alliance."¹⁵ Nevertheless, in spite of the great necessity and regular letters being written to the press upon the subject, between 1806 and 1835 no less than forty-seven ships were wrecked in Table Bay (Theal 391).

Although they demonstrated an ambivalent attitude towards shipwrecked sailors and passengers, the Cape colonists had formed a Philanthropic Society in July 1828, with the intention of helping both deserving slaves and slave children to purchase their freedom. Its patron was the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole.¹⁶

That it was found necessary to buy and then apprentice the slave children in order that slavery might be halted, demonstrates a strangely ambivalent attitude. Within its first eighteen months the Philanthropic Society purchased twenty-four female slave children for manumission: the Children were then apprenticed "under judicious regulations until ... sixteen years of age."¹⁷ By the end of November 1830 sixty-one slaves had been emancipated. The Cape Almanack declared this "a fact of too much importance to permit any real lover of his Country to look with indifference upon the success of the Institution - for what Colonist is not deeply interested in the ultimate extinction of Slavery?" (1831).

The third Anniversary meeting of the Philanthropic Society was held on 25 July 1831. Lady Frances Cole and Lisinka were present on this occasion. The Cape Almanack recorded the resolution of that meeting: "that the Committee should be increased to 24 members, with a view to interest more persons directly in its objects"

(1832). At this meeting, according to Lady Frances's journal, "a great deal of extraneous eloquence" was uttered.¹⁸ It was an opinion held also by others. The South African Commercial Advertiser reported the proceedings of the fourth Annual General Meeting, held in 1832, when the Rev. Dr Philip commenced his address "by stating that, although he congratulated the Meeting on the respectability of the gentlemen who had preceded him in speech, he certainly could not congratulate them on their eloquence." (27 July 1832). Mr Bruce's address, which followed that of Dr Philip's, included the statement that: "Public opinion is the great instrument of Providence of achieving great and important national purposes. Public opinion destroyed the Slave Trade; and when ripe, will inevitably put an end to Slave Labor." (27 July 1832). Since its inception the Philanthropic Society had released from bondage a total of one hundred and two children. Precisely what kind of release from bondage was achieved is difficult to assess.

Besides philanthropic matters there were other matters occupying Lisinka's mind in 1831. On the day of the Annual General Meeting of the Philanthropic Society, the Rev. Fearon Fallows, who had been the Astronomer Royal at the Cape since 1821, died. (25 July 1831). A contemporary of his had said of him: "It is difficult to conceive a man of such simplicity of character and such absence of knowledge of the world in the nineteenth century" (Warner, Astronomers 30).

It was the funeral of a soldier, however, which was to capture Lisinka's imagination. Captain Warren Markham was thirty years old at the time of his tragic death, on the afternoon of Tuesday 15th November. The tragedy was noted in both Lisinka's and Lady Cole's journals. The funeral was held a few days later. Lisinka had never witnessed a military funeral before and she witnessed this from the home of Mrs Henry Cloete at no. 14 Heeregrachtⁿ, "from which we had a full view of the mournful procession" (17 Nov. 1831).

Lisinka's description of the ceremony, in which both boys, Arthur and William Cole, participated "at their own desire", is a poignant one. Captain Markham's death

was the subject of Rev. Edward Judge's sermon at the Military Chapel, which Lisinka, Frances Lady Cole and the children attended the following Sunday.

Rev. Edward Conduitt Judge (1801-1875) was Professor of English and Classical Literature and headmaster of the Classical School at no. 6 Rede Street, Cape Town. His residence was in Orange Street (Krüger 3:458).

Another matter which would have have occupied the Coles' and Lisinka's minds was fire, a constant hazard at the Cape. The roofs of the houses were of thatch or shingle: Government House had a shingle roof until slate replaced it in 1842 (Lewcock 319-20); and the popularity of fireplaces added to the risk. Fires were seldom lit in winter for warmth and, if they were, the north-west wind regularly blew the smoke back down the chimneys (Warner, Piazzi Smyth 17). However, in October 1830, a fire in the chimney at Sir John Wylde's home, Hopeville Lodge, had caused some excitement.¹⁹

William Bird's description of a panorama of Cape Town in 1822 is interesting:

The houses, flat-roofed, and chiefly white, with green windows, are spacious and convenient, having an elevated terrace, here called a stoep, in front, and small gardens behind, usually with a treillage clothed with vines. (146)

The flat roofs described were constructed of tar or canvas on boarding, and lead and, later, zinc flat roofs were used on the better buildings. These materials were all highly flammable (Lewcock 321). The combination of fire and a wind could prove disastrous. Fire could sweep from one building to the next, which had happened on 22 November 1798 when the cavalry's stables near the Castle had caught fire. Fanned by a strong South-Easter, the flames had spread to many of the sea-front store-houses of the East India Company and had destroyed most of the naval and military stores, as well as most of the one-hundred-and-forty horses stabled there.

Brushwood fires were equally treacherous, and the dry summer months brought their share of them. Early in January 1830 the brushwood caught fire near Colonel Fitzroy's stables in Wynberg and they were burned to the ground.²⁰ In December 1831

there was another fire. This time it started at Kirstenbosch, spread rapidly and "destroyed all the Brushwood around [Protea]." ²¹

In April 1836 Lady Herschel wrote in "a kind of journal" that one evening they had been "condoling with the [Bryants] on the alarm they had felt a week previous when the woods near Protea were in a blaze & the house in imminent danger" when the following evening there was "a cry of fire". Lady Herschel continued:

We ran to the door & saw the flames rising high above but behind a grove of oaks near the North Avenue. The wind was raging furiously & sending the sparks thick about the house while we felt sure that the body of fire was advancing rapidly towards us. (Herschel 102)

She recorded Sir John's sagacious advice. This description of the method in which they combatted one fire must have been enacted again and over again in many homes of their time:

The general way of putting out these fires is to beat out the flame along the line of conflagration, or to make a clear lane where the fire must stop for want of food, but the wind on this night was so high that the flames crossed the broadest avenues, & these ordinary means were only attended to at some of the most dangerous points. To preserve the thatched roof from catching fire was the principal thing, & all the carpets in the House were torn up & laid over it. (Herschel 103)

Somewhat more spectacular were the mountain fires of which Rev. Christian Latrobe had written and, later, which Lisinka witnessed, one early in May 1830 and one in mid-December 1831, both of which raged on Table Mountain. Lisinka wrote: "At night the effect is very beautiful, the tops of the rocks being fringed with light, like a magnificent row of gas lamps" (5 May 1830). ^{Frances} Lady Cole recorded in her Journal: "These fires occur frequently, but this one is of greater extent than has been known for some years." ²²

Although Lisinka received news that day of the death of her friend Julia's mother, the last day of 1831 was to end on a curiously quiet note: "I dined in my own

room" (31 Dec. 1831). She mentions neither an ailment nor illness, but clearly she was most distressed by some news - as her following entry would show on the first day of January 1832.

Notes

- 1 Lady Frances, letter to Mrs Robinson, 21 Apr. 1823, PRO 30/43/32.
- 2 Lowry Cole, letter to Sir J. McGregor, 16 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/86.
- 3 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 5 Sept. 1825, PRO 30/43/33.
- 4 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 9 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/33.
- 5 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Lady Malmesbury, 9 Jan. 1826, PRO 30/43/33.
- 6 Lowry Cole, letter to Sir J. McGregor, 6 Nov. 1828, PRO 30/43/97.
- 7 South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Jan. 1829.
- 8 Cape Almanack 1829.
- 9 Cape Almanack 1831.
- 10 Cape Almanack 1829-1833
- 11 Cape Almanack 1832.
- 12 Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 9 June 1831, PRO 30/43/97.
- 13 Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 9 June 1831, PRO 30/43/97.
- 14 Lowry Cole, letter to Lt-Genl Taylor, 9 June 1831, PRO 30/43/97.
- 15 Lady Frances, journal, 9 July 1833, PRO 30/43/115.
- 16 Cape Almanack 1829.
- 17 Cape Almanack 1830.
- 18 Lady Frances, journal, 25 July 1831, PRO 30/43/114.
- 19 Elizabeth Cozens, journal, 22 Oct. 1830, PRO 30/43/121; South African Commercial Advertiser 23 Oct. 1830.
- 20 Lady Frances, journal, 10 Jan. 1830, PRO 30/43/114.
- 21 Lady Frances, journal, 16 Dec. 1831, PRO 30/43/114.
- 22 Lady Frances, journal, 5 May 1830, PRO 30/43/114.

- January 1831 The Bells, the Wades, Dr. Dyce & Mr Miller dined here.
- Sunday 2nd¹ Mr A. Balfour came. Their Excellencies went to Town to attend the Sermon preached for the benefit of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, preached by Mr Goodison. The Church was ill attended & the collection small.²
- Monday 3rd The Bells went away - the Govr. &c went to Town as usual;³ & Mr A. Balfour.
- Tuesday 4th The Michells spent the day at Protea.⁴ Mr Clarke Burton dined here.
- Wednesday 5th We all went to Town to attend Dr. Dyce's Wedding.⁵ The ceremony took place at Mr Stoll's house, about 2 o'clock and was performed in a very impressive manner by Dr. Adamson. Besides the members of our Family, including the Bells & the Wades, and that of the Stolls, there were present Mr C. Burton & Mr Miller in all eight & twenty persons. Immediately after the ceremony, the Bride & Bridegroom took their departure for Greenpoint - & the Company partook of a very handsome Tiffin; and soon after departed. I, & the Staff⁶ returned to Protea to dinner - their Excellencies remained in Town.
- Thursday 6th Sir Lowry and Fanny returned.⁷
- Friday 7th The Governor & the two elder Boys,⁸ went to Simon's Town. A very hot day.

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- 1 Lady Frances: "Took Lisinka's Sunday at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 2 The Annual Sermon on behalf of this Society was preached in the Dutch Reformed Church by the Rev. B.C. Goodison M.A., Chaplain to the Forces. The Service commenced at 11:30. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Dec. 1830)
 - 3 Lady Frances: "Lowry went to Town in the Waggon & took all the Gentlemen." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 4 Lady Frances: "Mrs Mitchell & her girls came to Tiffin & spent the day." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 5 Dr Robert Dyce, M.D., Medical Staff, married Antoinette Louisa, the eldest daughter of the Hon. J.W. Stoll. The Rev. James Adamson, D.D., officiated. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Jan. 1831)
 - 6 Lady Frances: "Lisinka & the gentlemen returned to Protea." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 7 Lady Frances: "The girls came to Town for Masters - I returned with them in the evening." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 8 i.e. Arthur and William. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Saturday 8th Miss Pigot came; also the Bells. The Governor and the Boys returned.
- Sunday 9th⁹
- [P41]
Monday 10th The Menzies and Mr & Mrs Stewart dined at Protea.
- Tuesday 11th The Bells went away. Col. England, Captain Markham & Mr Sutton dined here, the former remained here.
- Wednesday 12th Captain Hall dined & slept here. Dr. Dyce called.
- Thursday 13th Col. England & Capt. Hall went away. Mr & Mrs Wilberforce Bird, Mr Burton, Mr Clarke Burton, Major Michell and Mr Watt dined here. Dr. Dyce called.
- Friday 14th Captain and Mrs Hare, Mrs Blake, Mrs Brownrigg & Mr Alexander dined here.
- Saturday 15th The Smiths and the Bells came here.¹⁰ The Wades came to dinner. We heard of the arrival of the L'Oise Frigate,¹¹ having on board the Count De Chefontaine, the late Governor of Bourbon & his family.¹²
- Sunday 16th¹³ Mr Rivers dined and slept here.
- Monday 17th¹⁴ The Govr. & Fanny went to Town to pay their respects to Monr. & Made. de Chefontaine.¹⁵ Mr & Mrs MacKay dined here.
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- 9 Lady Frances: "Very hot day - Went to Church" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 10 Lady Frances: "Twelfth Night kept by the Children - The little Hares & little Wades dined with them - the Wades dined with us. Col. Bell hurt his leg dancing with the children." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 11 The French ship Loise had sailed from Bourbon on 11 Dec. 1830 for Table Bay and Brest. (South African Commercial Advertiser 19 Jan. 1831)
- 12 The late Governor, the Count, and Countess Chifonataine, their four children, and Suite, were on board the Loise, as well as Captain Bosquet and 120 French soldiers. (South African Commercial Advertiser 19 Jan. 1831)
- 13 Lady Frances: "Very hot day - Mr Cooke read prayers at home." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 14 "A considerable number of the inhabitants of Rondebosch, Wynberg, Koeberg, Zwartland, Stellenbosch, and Clan William, amounting to about 180 persons, arrive in town, relative to the new Slave Ordinance. His Excellency the Governor not being at Government House, a

- Tuesday 18th Major Molesworth, (the new A.D.C.)¹⁶ came to breakfast & returned to Town. Dr. & Mrs Dyce called.¹⁷
- Wednesday 19th The Count & Countess de Chefontaine, Captain Richet, the Captain of the Junon,¹⁸ Monr. Dumart¹⁹ &c spent the day here. A very hot one.
- Thursday 20th The Govr. & Fanny, & the Bells went to Cape Town; also the Girls,²⁰ Col. Smith, &c. Sir Lowry, & Fanny remained in Town. Miss Pigot went away.
- Friday 21st The Governor gave a Grand Dinner in Town to the French Visitors. Mrs Wade spent the day at Protea. The Govr., Fanny, &c &c arrived from Town at past twelve o'clock.
- Saturday 22nd Monr. & Madame Lancastelle spent the day at Protea.²¹ Dr. Clarke & Mr Baillie and Major Molesworth dined here.

deputation consisting of 40 respectable farmers ... repair to the Governor's country seat, from whom they obtain a most gracious interview. In the course of business, Mr Martin, spokesman, hoped that the old mode of flogging the women with a whip, would still be permitted by His Majesty's most humane and christian government. His Excellency replied that he doubted very much whether whipping the women would be again permitted. This gentlemanly deputation then returned to Cape Town." (Literary Gazette 30 Apr. 1831)

- 15 Lady Frances: "Monr & Mad Lancastel - Directors of the same Colony & the Officers of the two French Frigates in which they came." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) The other frigate was the H.F.M.S. La Junon which arrived in Table Bay the day after the Loise. (Cape Almanack 1832)
- 16 Major Molesworth is listed as h.p. Aide de Camp. (Cape Almanack 1832)
- 17 The newly married couple in time were to have three children: two sons, who later died in India, and a daughter. Dr Robert Dyce achieved the position of Professor of midwifery at Aberdeen University. (McMagh xiv)
- 18 Captain Richier commanded the Loise. (South African Commercial Advertiser 19 Jan. 1831)
- 19 Monsieur Dumart was one of "five or six others of the French frigates." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 20 Lady Frances: "Went to Town with the girls for Masters - remained there without them for the dinner of Friday." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 21 Lady Frances added: "& their children". (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Sunday 23rd Fanny went to Cape Town to distribute the prizes to the Children of the Sunday School.²²

Monday 24th I went to Cape Town with the Governor to call upon Mrs Dyce - I returned to dinner - but the Govr. &c &c remained to dine with the 72d. Mess to meet Monr. de Cheffontaine & the rest of the French Officers.

Tuesday 25th Monr. & Madame de Cheffontaine passed the day at Protea. Major & Mrs Michell and Col. England dined here.

Wednesday 26th²³

Thursday 27th Mr Baillie came. The Govr. &c went to Cape Town as usual.

Friday 28th²⁴

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Saturday 29th²⁵ The Bells came.

Sunday 30th Dr. Dyce breakfasted here. Col. Wade having been unwell for some time, was moved to Govt. House today.²⁶ Mr Baillie went away in the evening.

Monday 31st The Govr. &c &c went to Cape Town.²⁷

February

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- 22 Lady Frances: "I went to Town to attend the Sunday School for Mrs Judge & to join the Prayers in the evening - Returned to Protea for dinner." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 23 Lady Frances: "A very hot day - Heavy fog in Town - came over the Mountain in the afternoon." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 24 Lady Frances: "Fine day with sharp breeze. Rode to Mr C Burton's - Col. Wade very unwell - I met Dr. Murray at Westbush & begged him to go & see him." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 25 Lady Frances: "Boys went out caving with their Father & Col. Smith." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 - 26 Lady Frances: "Dr Dyce came to breakfast & told us Col. Wade was very unwell & must go to Govt House immediately - Sent Elizth. there immediately to prepare the house." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) i.e. Elizabeth Cook, one of Lady Cole's faithful servants.
 - 27 Col. Bell went to Town with Sir Lowry. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Tuesday 1st The Smiths and the Bells left Protea. Sir Lowry and Fanny went to Town to see Col. Wade who still continues very unwell. Major Hall, Mr Frith, & Captain Innis of the Robertson,²⁸ dined here; also Mrs W. Bird.

Wednesday 2nd²⁹

Thursday 3rd The Govr. Fanny, the Girls &c went to Town.³⁰ Fanny remained with Mrs Wade. Mr Miller dined and slept at Protea.

The Ther. in Town 92 in the Shade.

Friday 4th The Ther. in Town, 91 at night.³¹

Saturday 5th Fanny returned. The Bells came - & Mr John Brink.

Sunday 6th³² A very hot day.

Monday 7th A dreadfully hot wind. The Govr. &c went to Town. Mr Brink went away. We heard of the arrival of the Maidstone.³³ Soon after Mr Brownrigg called - We heard of poor Col. Grant's death.³⁴ George Harris came. The Blairs and Mr Alexander dined here. Miss Blair remained at Protea.

28 The H.C. Ship Abercrombie Robinson had arrived in Table Bay from China, en route to London. Captain Innes commanded her. (Cape Almanack 1832)

29 Lady Frances: "Col. Wade better." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

30 Lady Frances: "Went to Town with the girls for Masters - they returned with their Father, I remained with Mrs Wade - Col. W. much better - Heat very great in Town." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

31 The Commercial Advertiser reported: "The heat was greater yesterday in Cape Town than it has been experienced this summer. At twelve o'clock the thermometer, in a shady situation, indicated 90 degrees: in the sun the mercury ranged between 102 and 108 degrees. The heat was rendered almost intolerable by the hot wind which blew during part of the day from the North-east, and in some respects resembled the sirocco of Italy." (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 Feb. 1831)

32 Lady Frances: "Mr Cooke read Prayers at home - No Sunday School on account of Hon Lyn's illness." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

33 The H.M.S. Maidstone had sailed from Port Louis, Mauritius on 16 Jan. for Simon's Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Feb. 1831)

34 Col. Grant (82nd Regt) died. Lt-Col Grant had stopped at Mauritius in 1830 en route home from India to England. Sir Lowry had written that "his object in going home is to endeavour to get a half pay Lt-Colonelcy". (Sir Lowry, letter 20 Jan. 1830, PRO 30/43/97) They also "heard of Hon Lyn's death." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Tuesday 8th Captain Hay and Edward Blackburn³⁵ came. Captain Hall & Captain Halifax, Mr & Miss Pattle dined here.
- Wednesday 9th A thunder storm & much rain.³⁶ The Bells went away, also Captain Hay.
- Thursday 10th I went to Town with the Governor to see the Wades, & returned to dinner.
- Friday 11th³⁷ Mr & Mrs Blair dined here - Miss Blair returned home. Capt. Lyon came.³⁸
- Saturday 12th The Bells came, also Captain Hay and Mr Bowles³⁹ - A great many Visitors came, amongst others, four Mr Bagleys!⁴⁰ I was ill in bed all day. A ship arrived from England on its way to Mauritius,⁴¹ bringing the news of the change of Ministry, and that all the Whigs with Lord Grey at their head, were come in - and Mr Brougham, made Lord Chancellor!⁴²

35 Both Captain Hay and Edward Blackburn had arrived on board the H.M.S. Maidstone from Mauritius on 6 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Feb. 1831) Edward was one of the sons of the Chief Justice there.

36 Lady Frances: "The Infant School meeting was to have taken place but was put off on account of the weather." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

37 Lady Frances noted: "Lisinka unwell" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

38 Captain Lyons had arrived on board the H.M.S. Maidstone from Mauritius on 6 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Feb. 1831)

39 i.e. Henry Bowles. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

40 The four Mr Bagleys: Mr Bagley (from India), Mr C. Bagley, Mr Charles Bagley, and Mr George Bagley. (Lisinka, journal, PRO 30/43/121)

41 The Royal Sovereign had sailed from Portsmouth for Mauritius. She carried English papers up to the 22 Nov. (South African Commercial Advertiser 16 Feb. 1831)

42 The news: "The great Whig Party has at last got the victory, if the accession to power in times of such difficulty as the present seem to be may be called a victory. They come into office pledged to Retrenchment, Reform in its most extensive sense, and to the Abolition of Slavery. Their leaders have always been acknowledged to be men of great talents, remarkable for eloquence, and a quality which some call Pride, others Dignity and Firmness.

We regret the retirement of the Duke of Wellington, who has saved the Nation more than once, both in war and in peace. But he was opposed to Reform, and there for the first time he mistook the Spirit of the Age; and we regret the separation of Brougham from the People, among whom his strength lay. The extracts from the English papers will put the reader in possession of all the particulars of the change. (South African Commercial Advertiser 16 Feb. 1831)

Sunday 13th⁴³ Mr Prospue D'Epinay⁴⁴ and Mr Laing⁴⁵ came, and many Visitors to hear the news.

Monday 14th Every Body went into Town,⁴⁶ but returned to dinner, except Mr Bowles; & Captain Hay. Mr & Mrs Menzies & Mr Melville⁴⁷ dined here. I was still in my own room.

Tuesday 15th The Bells went away. The Commodore came from Simon's Town. George Harris went away.⁴⁸

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Wednesday 16th The Brownriggs & Mr Blake dined here.

Thursday 17th I went to Govt. House to pay a visit to Mrs Wade and remained with her till Thursday the 24th.⁴⁹ A family party at dinner.

Friday 25th The Dyce's came. Mr Clarke Burton dined here.

Saturday 26th⁵⁰

Sunday 27th Mr & Mrs Brownrigg dined here.

43 Lady Frances: "Went to Church - No Sunday School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

44 Mr Prospue D'Epinay, elder brother of Mr Adrian D'Epinay and, "the ablest man at the Mauritius Bar", was for Sir Lowry Cole "unquestionably the most influential person there." The D'Epinay brothers were Creoles. (Sir Lowry, letter to R.W. Hay, 9 Nov. 1830, PRO 30/43/97)

45 Probably Mr Andrew Laing.

46 Lady Frances: "Went to Town to attend the Infant School meeting." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

47 In 1820 the missionary, Mr Melville, had been appointed as Government Agent in Griquatown. In Mar. 1830 he had been of great assistance to Andries Stockenstrom in ascertaining the culpability of Griqua and Coranna Commandos in the butchering of two Bushman kraals. (Stockenstrom 1:387)

48 Mr George Harris returned to Simon's Town. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

49 Lady Frances: "Went to Cape Town with the girls. Lisha went to remain there with Mrs Wade. Attended the show of fruit at the Museum." On the 24th Feb. "Lowry went to Town & brought back Lisha." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

50 Lady Frances: "Fine fresh day - No additional guests." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Monday 28th The Dyce's went away. Mr Coudray arrived and dined & slept here. Mr Bagley & Mr Cumming (a Hindoo)⁵¹ dined here.

March

1st My Birthday - and Elizabeth Cook's Wedding Day¹⁵² The Royal George⁵³ came in having the L'Estranges⁵⁴ & Harry Stansley on board; they all came to Protea to dinner.⁵⁵ C. Bell came. Mrs William Bird & Caroline Hare came.

Wednesday 2nd⁵⁶ Dr. Graham, & Dr. Dyce dined here.

Thursday 3rd⁵⁷ The Bells came.

Friday 4th Mr Thompson from Simon's Bay called. The L'Estranges left Protea⁵⁸ and embarked on board the Royal George at half past two.⁵⁹

Saturday 5th Mrs W. Bird & Caroline Hare went away.⁶⁰

Sunday 6th⁶¹ The Canning came in.⁶²

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- 51 Mr Cumming, and "the celebrated Ramchun Roy, the Hindoo philanthropist" had arrived at the Cape on board the ship Albion, from Calcutta, on 17 Jan. 1831 (Literary Gazette 30 Apr. 1831).
- 52 Miss Elizabeth Cook married Mr Robert Johnstone at the Reformed Dutch Church in Cape Town. The English Church ceremony was performed at eleven o'clock by the Rev. George Hough M.A., Senior Colonial Chaplain (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 Mar. 1831). Elizabeth had been one of Lady Frances Cole's staff for many years and had travelled out with her to Mauritius in 1823 and to the Cape in 1828.
- 53 The Royal George had sailed from Mauritius on 9 Feb. for Table Bay and London. She carried a few loose letters (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 Mar. 1831).
- 54 General L'Estrange and his wife were passengers on board the Royal George (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 Mar. 1831).
- 55 Lady Frances: "Elizth. remained in Town after the Wedding." (journal, PRO 30/43/114).
- 56 Lady Frances: "Drove to Wynberg for Mrs L'Estrange to see Col. Wade's children." (journal, PRO 30/43/114).
- 57 Lady Frances: "Went to Town with the girls." (journal, PRO 30/43/114).
- 58 The L'Estranges left Protea after breakfast (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114).
- 59 The Royal George sailed for London that day (Cape Almanack 1832).
- 60 These details were entered in Lady Frances Cole's journal for the previous day (PRO 30/43/114).
- 61 Lady Frances: "strong S. Easter not felt at Protea." (journal, PRO 30/43/114).

- Monday 7th I went with the Governor to Town to see the Wades - Col. Wade had been worse the last two or three days; I found him however looking much the same.
- Tuesday 8th Mr Arthur Balfour came. Mr Thomson & Mr Beveridge (Purser of the Canning)⁶³ dined here.
- Wednesday 9th Dr. Dyce called. Mr & Mrs Bird and Dr & Mrs Watson dined here.
- Thursday 10th A violent storm of hail in Cape Town accompanied by Thunder & Lightning and an [un]usual sound as of the rattling of stones which lasted some minutes - some persons imagined it to be a slight shock of an Earthquake.⁶⁴
- Friday 11th Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete came. Mr & Mrs Kekewich & their Son,⁶⁵ dined here.
- Saturday 12th⁶⁶ I went to Cape Town.
- Sunday 13th⁶⁷ Capt. Baylis of the Canning & some of his Officers dined at Protea.⁶⁸
- Monday 14th Fanny & the Children accompanied the Governor to Cape Town in order to go on board the Canning - Catherine joined our party and escorted by Captain Lyons,⁶⁹ Captain During and Mr Cooke we went on board about
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- 62 The H.C.S. Canning had sailed from Canton on 6 June for Table Bay and London, with a cargo of teas. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Mar. 1831)
- 63 i.e. The H.C.S. Canning, recently arrived from China. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Mar. 1832)
- 64 Earthquakes and tremors were not unknown.
- 65 The Kekewich's son, Robert Burton, would have been about ten months old. (South African Commercial Advertiser 16 June 1830)
- 66 Lady Frances: "Col. Wade worse - very anxious about him." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 67 Lady Frances: "Catherine took the Sunday School which reopened that day - Col. Wade a little better." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 68 Captain P. Baylis and his officers had arrived from Canton on board the H.C.S. Canning on 6 Mar. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Mar. 1831)
- 69 Captain Lyons had arrived on board the H.M.S. Maidstone on 6 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Feb. 1831)

noon the day was most delightful & the Sea quite calm, & no South easter arose to disturb our enjoyment. The Ship is beautiful and in the most perfect order. We returned to Protea in the evening.

Tuesday 15th The Commodore returned to Simon's Town.⁷⁰

[P44]

Wednesday 16th Captain Lyons left us to embark in the Canning for England.⁷¹

Thursday 17th I went to Cape Town, to be with the Wades⁷² and remained there for 3 weeks - so that during that period I do not know what was passing at Protea - except that the Smiths were staying there during that time⁷³ - and that the Commissioners,⁷⁴ Mr Colebrooke and Mr Gregory, having come in the Abberton from Ceylon,⁷⁵ they passed some days at Protea and embarked again on Thursday April 7th.

April

Thursday 7th I returned to Protea.⁷⁶

Friday 8th Major & Mrs Michell & Mr Watt dined here.

- 70 Lady Frances: "A Steam Vessel arrived from England without letters." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) This was the Sophia Jane, the second Steamship to visit the Colony. She was en route from Plymouth to Sydney. (South African Commercial Advertiser 16, 19 Mar. 1831; Cape Almanack 1832)
- 71 The H.C.S. Canning sailed the following day. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114; Cape Almanack 1832)
- 72 Lady Frances: "Oppressively hot day - Went to Cape Town with the children for Masters - Lisinka went with me & remained with Mrs Wade - Col. W a shade better." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Lisinka helped Mrs Wade nurse her husband.
- 73 The Smiths arrived at Protea on the 22nd Mar. and departed on the 28th. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 74 The Commissioners, sent out to investigate, report upon and reorganise the administrations at the Cape, Mauritius and Ceylon, and now en route to England, were Lt-Col. W.M.G. Colebrooke (1787-1870), Mr J.H. Cameron, and their Secretary, Mr John Gregory. (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 Apr. 1831) Also involved at various stages were: Mr W. Blair (1799-1873), appointed in 1826 (Cole and Gwynn 221); and Mr J.T. Bigge (1780-1843), one of the original two Commissioners appointed in 1823, who retired after the report on the Cape had been finalised (Hunt 73).
- 75 The Abberton had sailed from Columbo on 4 Feb. via Bombay, Ceylon, and the Cape, for London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 2, 9 Apr. 1831; Cape Almanack 1832)
- 76 Lady Frances: "Lowry went to Town - Lisinka returned with him - An indifferent account of Col. Wade." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Saturday 9th Fanny's Birthday⁷⁷ was celebrated by a large Juvenile Dinner party.⁷⁸ Mrs Smith spent the morning at Protea.⁷⁹ The Bells, Captain Poole,⁸⁰ Mr Thomson & Mr Balfour came to dinner and remained here.

Sunday 10th Captn. Poole & Mr Thomson went away. A Ship came in from England with a Mail.⁸¹

Monday 11th I went again to Cape Town⁸² and remained there till Tuesday the 26th, during which time there were many visitors at Protea, amongst the rest the Stolls, the Dycles, the Lorentzes and the Bells. Mrs Oliphant came to Protea on Saturday the 23d.⁸³

Tuesday 26th The first day of the Races to which Fanny, the Governor, &c &c went - it was a cold dismal day and there were very few people in the Stand. After the Races we went to Protea in a pouring rain.⁸⁴ Captain Hall, Captain Hay and Dr. Clarke came to dine & sleep.

Wednesday 27th We heard the melancholy news of the death of Frederic Robinson,⁸⁵ from a Newspaper.

77 Little Frances Cole turned seven. (PRO 30/43/83) Lady Frances: "Bee's birthday". (PRO 30/43/114)

78 Lady Frances: "The little Wades & Hares dined here." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

79 Possibly this was because Lady Frances "went to Town to see Col. Wade." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

80 Captain Poole had arrived at the Cape on board the H.C.S. Canning on 6 Mar. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Mar. 1831)

81 This would have been the Salus which had sailed from the Downs on 14 Jan. for Table Bay, with a large mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 13 Apr. 1831)

82 Lady Frances: "Lowry went to Cape Town & took Lisinka with him." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

83 Mrs Oliphant and her child stayed at Protea while Mr Olpivant went to Stellenbosch for a few days. He returned on the 29th Apr. (Lady Frances, journal 23-29 Apr. 1831, PRO 30/43/114)

A major event on the 23 Apr. 1831 was that of the first lighting-up of St George's-street with oil lamps. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Apr. 1831)

84 Lady Frances: "High wind from NW rose in the night ... Went to Town for the Races - very raw, damp & unpleasant on the course - Returned to Protea for dinner ... Lisinka returned with us - Col. Wade going on well." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

85 It was not Frederick Robinson (Lord Goderich), a personal friend of Sir Lowry Cole. He had been Lord Castlereagh's secretary at the Admiralty and, later, an ineffectual Prime Minister - the only one in British history never to have met the Parliament. His hypochondriacal wife, Mrs Sarah Robinson, was Lord Malmesbury's sister. Lord Goderich was uncle to Lady Catherine Bell and Lady Frances Cole. The news of Frederic Robinson's

- Thursday 28th Mr Stevenson surprised us with a visit!⁸⁶ He has the charge of some Rioters⁸⁷ going to New South Wales. A Family party at Dinner with the exception of Mrs Oliphant.
- Friday 29th Mr Oliphant came from Stellenbosch. Sir John Wilson (going to India), his Aide de Camp, Captn. Macready,⁸⁸ Col. Smith & Col. England, dined here.
- Saturday 30th I went to Town with the Oliphants who went to the Races;⁸⁹ I remained at Govt. House and afterwards went to fetch them on the course. Mr Bagley called to take leave.
- May 1st
Sunday The Governor's Birthday.⁹⁰ Mrs Smith called also Mr Stevenson to take leave.⁹¹ Mr Alexander dined here.
- Monday 2nd The Oliphants went away. I went to Cape Town.⁹²
- Monday 9th⁹³ I returned from Cape Town.⁹⁴ The Bells, the Smiths & the Dyce's arrived. [P45] Captain Markham, Arthur Balfour, & George Harris were staying at Protea.

death affected Sir Lowry Cole deeply. Lord Goderich died in Jan. 1859. (Cole and Gwynn 91,116; Krüger 5:647-8)

- 86 The Eleanor, a convict ship, had sailed from Portsmouth on 19 Feb., with 133 male convicts, for Simon's Bay and Sydney. The passage to the Cape had taken 61 days. (South African Commercial Advertiser 30 Apr., 7 May; Gazette 6 May 1831)
- 87 The offences for which the convicts were transported were trivial generally, compared with hanging which often was the punishment for stealing. (Johnson)
- 88 Major-General Sir John Wilson, and his wife, together with his A.D.C., Captain MacReady, had arrived on board the ship Barretto Jun. which had sailed from Portsmouth on 21 Feb. for the Cape, Madras, and Calcutta. (Gazette 29 Apr. 1831)
- 89 Lady Frances Cole records: "Lisinka & the boys went to the Races & returned very late." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 90 It was Sir Lowry's fifty-eighth birthday. (Cole and Gwynn)
- 91 Mr Stevenson sailed from Simon's Bay for Sydney on board the convict ship Eleanor on 3 May. (Cape Almanack 1832)
- 92 Lady Frances: "Lisinka went to Town with Lowry & remained." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 93 The day before, Sunday, was "Lisinka's day at the School." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 94 Lady Frances: "Lisinka returned with Lowry." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Tuesday 10th Mrs Wade came here to Breakfast and brought her Children to share in the celebration of the Governor's Birthday. About fifteen young people sat down to dinner. The party in the evening was increased by the arrival of Captain & Mrs Hare & C. Hare, Mr & Mrs Menzies, the two Mr Burtons, Mrs Pigot⁹⁵ and Miss Pigot, Mr & Mrs Steuart, Miss Liesching & one or two Midshipmen.

Little Fanny was the heroine of the evening and repeated the verses which had been written for the occasion⁹⁶ extremely well. Dancing continued gaily till near eleven o'clock when the company separated. No unfortunate accident occurred.⁹⁷ The Reliance arrived from Mauritius.⁹⁸

Wednesday 11th The Bells and Captain Markham went away.

Thursday 12th We all went to Town,⁹⁹ and took in Mrs Smith and Mrs Dyce.

Friday 13th A Family party.

Saturday 14th Dr. Clarke and Mr Arthur Balfour came. Fanny and the Boys & myself drove into Town.

Sunday 15th¹⁰⁰

Monday 16th Dr Clarke and Mr Arthur Balfour went away. Mr & Mrs William Ryneveld, Mr and Mrs Brink, & Mr Menzies dined here.

Tuesday 17th A very rainy Day. Mr Brownrigg dined and slept at Protea.

Wednesday 18th The Governor and Mr Balfour accompanied by Mr Brownrigg & George went to Simon's Town. Miss Blair came.

95 Mrs Elizabeth "Betsy" Pigot was the second wife and now widow of Major George Pigot; stepmother of Miss Catherine Pigot (Rainier 14).

96 The verses had been written by Catherine Bell and were recited "with much grace & distinctness." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114).

97 A reference to the mishap the previous year when Col. Wade had injured himself whilst dancing (Lisinka, journal 1 May., PRO 30/43/121).

98 The bark Reliance had sailed from Mauritius on 3 Apr. for Table Bay and London, with a cargo of sugar (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 May 1831).

99 Lady Frances: "I went to Town with the girls for Masters." (journal, PRO 30/43/114).

100 Lady Frances: "Went to Church at Wynberg" (journal, PRO 30/43/114).

Thursday 19th¹⁰¹

Friday 20th The Governor and Mr Balfour returned from Simon's Town.¹⁰²
Mr Blair and Mr Lindsay dined here.

Saturday 21st Mr Arthur Balfour came.

Sunday 22nd The Bells came.¹⁰³

Monday 23rd¹⁰⁴ Captain Blair and Mr Clarke came to dinner; the former
slept at Protea.

Tuesday 24th I took Miss Blair home in my way to Town where I went on a
visit to the Wades, having left Protea for the Season.

[P46]
Cape Town

Wednesday 25th

Monday 30th Fanny and the Children came to settle in Government House.¹⁰⁵
We all dined with Catherine to celebrate her Birthday.¹⁰⁶

Tuesday 31st The Governor & Mr Balfour returned to Protea. Fanny, Mr
Cooke and I, dined with the Bells. We met Col. & Mrs Smith, Mr George
Bagley, Mr Lewis & Mr Arthur Balfour.

June

Wednesday 1st¹⁰⁷ We dined again at Col. Bell's - a family party only.

101 Lady Frances: "about three o'clock a sharp Thunderstorm came on - continued during the evening & till Midnight." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

"A thunder storm, with bright forked lightning & heavy rain happened in Cape Town on Thursday evening. The S.W. angle of Table Mountain was struck by the electric fluid, which set fire to the wood on the summit, but the flames were soon extinguished by the rain, which continued to fall in torrents during the whole of the night." (South African Commercial Advertiser 21 May 1831)

102 Lady Frances: Lowry returned "with a bad cold" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

103 Lady Frances: "Went to Church at Wynberg - on our return found the Bells arrived from Town." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

104 Whit Monday. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

105 Lady Frances recorded: "Went into Cape Town to remain with all the Children." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

106 Lady Catherine Bell turned fifty-one. (PRO 30/43/43)

107 Lady Frances: "Very busy putting up the new Gov. furniture." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Thursday 2d Fanny &c dined at the Bells - I spent the evening with the
Wades.
- Friday 3d Mr Brownrigg & George Harris arrived.
- Saturday 4th Florence's Birthday.¹⁰⁸ The Govr. & Mr Balfour came from
Protea. The Bells, the Smiths & the Dyces dined here; also Miss Blair.
- Sunday 5th Miss Blair went away. Mr Bowles dined here.
- Monday 6th A Terrible stormy night & rainy day. Mr Brownrigg went away.
Charles Bell and George Harris dined here.
- Tuesday 7th Mr Brownrigg returned.
- Wednesday 8th Catherine gave a dance which was very numerous attended.¹⁰⁹
- Thursday 9th The Bells, Col. England, Major Sidney Cotton, Mr Lewis, Mr
Bayley, Captain Burrowes, Captns. Halifax & Markham dined here. Mr
Brownrigg went away.
- Friday 10th The Governor dined at the 75th Mess Catherine Bell dined with
us.
- Saturday 11th Captain Poole Mr Thompson,¹¹⁰ Captain Hall, Captain Bance,
Mr Proctor, Mr Arthur Balfour and George Harris dined here.
- Sunday 12th Mr Egerton & Mr Kingsman dined here,¹¹¹ also Arthur Balfour
and George Harris.

108 It was Florence Cole's fifteenth birthday. (PRO 30/43/83)

109 Lady Frances: "Catherine gave Florence a Ball in celebration of her Birthday - The children commenced at 7 - & were followed by the full grown party at 9 - it was very pretty & went off remarkably well." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

110 cf. Lady Frances: "Capt. Pole, Mr Thomson &c dined." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

111 Lady Frances: "Mr Kinsman & Egerton of the Maidstone & George Harris dined here." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Mr Egerton, R.N., had arrived at the Cape along with Commodore Isaac Schomberg on board the H.M.S. Rose on 9 Jan. 1829. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Jan. 1829)

- Monday 13th The Bells, Major Cloete, Captn. England, Mr Clarke,¹¹² Dr. Graham, Dr. Crichton, Mr Campbell (of the Maidstone)¹¹³ Mr Baillie dined here; also Arthur Balfour.
- Tuesday 14th Their Excellencies, Mr Balfour and myself dined at the Bells to celebrate their Wedding Day;¹¹⁴ we met Major Hall and Mr John Brink.
- Wednesday 15th Their Excellencies Wedding Day.¹¹⁵ The Bells, the Dyces and Col. Smith dined here.
- Thursday 16th Captain Markham & Mr A. Balfour dined here.
- Friday 17th Captain Hall, Mr Brink, Mr Graham and Mr Scott dined here.
- Saturday 18th¹¹⁶ The Bells, Major Hall, Captain Jarvis,¹¹⁷ Major Rogers, Mr Raymond,¹¹⁸ dined here.
- Sunday 19th¹¹⁹ Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.
- Monday 20th Mr Lewis dined here. The Clyde came in with a Mail from Mauritius.¹²⁰
- Tuesday 21st¹²¹ Col. Wade & Mrs Wade went to Simon's Town. [P47] The Bells and George dined here.

- 112 i.e. Dr Clarke. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 113 Both Dr. Crichton and Mr Campbell were off the Maidstone. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 114 The Bells were celebrating their tenth Wedding Anniversary. (Krüger 1:65)
- 115 The Coles were celebrating their sixteenth Wedding Anniversary. (Krüger 3:163)
- 116 The sixteenth Anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo: 18 June 1815.
- 117 Captain Henry Jervis, of H.M. 72nd Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 118 Lt Henry P. Raymond of H.M. 72nd Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1831)
- 119 Lady Frances: "Lisinka's day at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 120 The Clyde had sailed from Mauritius on 11 May for London. She had put into Simon's Bay for repairs and refreshments. (South African Commercial Advertiser 22 June 1831) Lady Frances: "A very raw rainy day - Col. Wade disappointed of going to Simon's Bay." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 121 Lady Frances: "A very fine day ... The girls rode with their Father to Protea." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Wednesday 22nd¹²² The Smiths and the Dyces dined here.
- Thursday 23rd The Magnet¹²³ & Rambler¹²⁴ came in bringing Mails from England. Fanny, the Children, & myself went to the Play,¹²⁵ which lasted till past twelve o' clock.
- Friday 24th The Bells and Arthur Balfour dined here.
- Saturday 25th The Commodore came.¹²⁶ The Bells dined here. Mrs Smith, Miss Blair and Miss Pigot spent the morning at Govt. House. The Bells dined here.
- Sunday 26th¹²⁷ I went to the Military Chapel - the music was excellent.
- Monday 27th All the family, except myself, dined with the Bells - I went to the 72d Play with Mr & Mrs Oliphant.
- Tuesday 28th The Birthday Ball was given; which was very numerously attended, & kept up with much spirit till three o'clock.
- Wednesday 29th Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.
- Thursday 30th The Brownriggs and Col. & Mr Blake dined here.
- July
Friday 1st The Bells, the Oliphants & Mrs Smith dined here - also Mr Clarke & Mr Baillie.

- 122 Lady Frances: "A beautiful day - Rode to Green Point & to Mr Stoll's home." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 123 The brig Magnet had sailed from Plymouth on 18 Mar. for Table Bay. She carried a large mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 June 1831)
- 124 The brig Rambler had sailed from the Downs on 6 Apr. for Table Bay. She also carried a large mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 June 1831)
- 125 The production on the 18 June had been postponed at the request of Lady Frances Cole, because Sir Lowry had learned the news of his relative's death. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
 The British Amateur Company presented Shakespeare's Richard III, the National Anthem, a song: "Will Watch", and a "Domestic Melodrama entitled The Children of the Wood." The Band of the 75th Regiment filled the "Orchestre". (South African Commercial Advertiser 18 June 1831)
- 126 Lady Frances: "the Commodore came from Simon's Bay." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 127 Lady Frances: "Went to the Lutheran Church for the Anniversary of the Confession of Augsburg." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Saturday 2nd I dined at the Bells, with the Oliphants, Mrs Smith and Mr Clarke. The Stolls, the Brownriggs, the Dyces, Col. England and Captn. Halifax dined at Govt. House, also Mr A. Balfour.

Sunday 3rd Mr Bowles & Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.

Monday 4th The Bells, Major Hall, and Mr Clarke dined here. Mr Balfour went to Simon's Town.

Tuesday 5th Miss Pigott and the Dyces dined here.

Wednesday 6th The Bells, Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, Major Hammond, Major McLean,¹²⁸ Captn. Stowe, Mr Cumming & Captain Bance dined here.

Thursday 7th Mr Balfour returned. Col. & Mrs Smith, Mr Polwhele & Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.

Friday 8th I went to Sans Souci where I dined & slept. The party there consisted of Col. & Mrs & Miss Thomson, Mr & Mrs & Miss Stoll, Major Hammond, Lord Elibank, Mr Polwhele & Mr Tyson.

Saturday 9th I returned from Sans Souci. The Bells, Major & Mrs Rogers, Col. England, Captain Boyce & Captn. Hay dined here.

Sunday 10th Mr Arthur Balfour dined here.

Monday 11th We went to hear the 72d Band practise, and as usual had a splendid Luncheon afterwards. The Bells & the Dyces dined here.

Tuesday 12th The first Soirée¹²⁹ which was tolerably well attended - The Band of the 72d played very delightfully, and the Glee Singers were much and deservedly admired.

Wednesday 13th Mr Clarke, Mr Baillie, Mr Tyson and Captn. Hay dined here. Mrs Wade came from Simon's Town.

128 Major C.M. Maclean of H.M. 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1832)

129 "Lady Frances Cole will be happy to receive those Ladies and Gentlemen who may wish to visit her at Government House at Nine o'clock in the evening on Tuesdays the 12th, 19th and 26th inst., and the 2d August. Government House, 4 July 1831
Francis L. Balfour, Colonial A.D.C."
(Gazette 15 July 1831)

[P48]

Thursday 14th The First great dinner. The Menzies, the Bells, the Steuarts, Lord Elibank, the Oliphants, Major & Mrs Cotton, Mr & Mrs Gordon, Mr Bagley, Mr Lewis, Col. England, Captain Markham were the Guests.

Friday the 15th The second Dinner. Present, the Bells, the Burtons, the Smiths, the Munros, Miss Taylor, the Stolls, Miss Stoll, Major Hall, Captain Hall, Mr Cumming, Mr & Mrs Dorin, Captain Poole (E.I.S.).

Saturday 16th¹³⁰ Mrs William Bird came. Mrs Wade, Mr Arthur Balfour & Mr Baillie dined at Govt. House. The Commodore & I, dined at Col. Munro's, where there was a small party in the evening. It blew a furious gale & three Ships were driven on shore in the course of the night - one we saw very plainly from the windows of Col. Munro's house.¹³¹

Sunday 17th The bad weather continued & during the whole of the day we had violent rain & wind and during some time, very vivid Lightening & loud Thunder - three more ships were driven on shore,¹³² and for some time great apprehensions were entertained for the Crew of one of them; the Candian, which had drifted amongst the Rocks at a considerable distance from the Shore - however about nine o'clock at night they reached the land in safety in one of their own Boats - providentially it was a moon light night, & the Gale had moderated.

Monday 18th¹³³ Miss Blair came. The Bells, Mrs Wade, Mr Lindsay & Captain Blair dined here.

130 Lady Frances: "Very stormy night - tremendous hail & rain continued to increase during the day." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

131 Ten ships were anchored in Table Bay when the North West gale struck. The Usk, a Colonial vessel of 130 tons, had arrived in Table Bay on 14 June from Algoa Bay; the Vine had arrived on 5 July, en route from Salem to Bourbon; the American brig, the Sir James Saamarez had arrived in Table Bay from Rio on 14 July - all were driven ashore during the night. (South African Commercial Advertiser 20 July 1831)

132 The Calpe, which had sailed from Dartmouth and arrived in Table Bay on 14 May; the Rambler which had sailed from the Downs for Table Bay, arriving on 23 June; and the Candian which had arrived on 4 July, en route from Bordeaux to Mauritius, were driven ashore.

 The Candian "drifted on a ledge of rocks about a mile from the beach, where she stuck fast; her foremast going almost immediately overboard. In the course of the night she parted and became a wreck." (South African Commercial Advertiser 20 July 1831)

133 Lady Frances: "Weather calmer, tho' the wind & rain still continued in some parts - Went to see the Wrecks! A melancholy sight! 5 Brigs & a Bark, laying on the Coast. No lives however have been lost & the chief losses will be the Insurers." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) "The property thus suddenly destroyed cannot be estimated [as] much less than Forty Thousand Pounds Sterling. No lives have been lost." (South African Commercial Advertiser 20 July 1831)

- Tuesday 19th The second Soirée which was composed chiefly of Dutch Ladies¹³⁴ - The Govr. dined with the 75th Mess.
- Wednesday 20th Mrs Wade dined here.¹³⁵ I went to a very pleasant dance at Col. Thomson's, accompanied by the Commodore.
- Thursday 21st¹³⁶ The 3d great Dinner. Present - the Bells, Mr & Mrs Kekewich, Baron & Baroness Lorentz, Major & Mrs Rogers, Capt. & Mrs Bance, Mrs Cloete [L.] Major Cloete, Mr Clarke Burton, Mr Bowles, Captain Keates, Captain Jarvis. Eight persons at home. I went to hear the Band in the morning.
- Friday 22nd The 4th great Dinner. The Bells, Col. & Mrs Thomson, Miss Thomson, Dr. & Mrs Murray, Mrs & the Misses Bowles, Major & Mrs McKenzie (the Son of "the Man of Feeling")¹³⁷, Captain England, Captain Halifax, Mr John Cloete, & Capt. Dickinson were the Guests - the latter arrived from Mauritius the day before.¹³⁸
- Saturday 23rd The Smiths, Capt. Hay and Mr Fraser (the new Clergyman at Simon's Town)¹³⁹ dined here. Mrs Wade returned to Simon's Town.
- Sunday 24th Captain Markham and Mr Arthur Balfour dined here. George Harris came from Simon's Town.
- [P49]
- Monday 25th His Excellency attended the 3rd Anniversary of the Philanthropic Society - Fanny also went, accompanied by Mrs Bird & myself. There were a good many persons present. Several speeches were made not very much to the purpose nor very eloquent - with the exception of Mr Adamson's & Mr Joubert's.¹⁴⁰ Poor Dr. Fallowes died.¹⁴¹ The Bells & the Dyces dined here; also
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- 134 Lady Frances: "tolerably well attended." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 135 "Took Mrs Wade to see the wrecks." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 136 Lady Frances: "Very fine day - Drove to Green Point with Mrs Bird." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 137 Reference to the novelist and poet, Henry MacKenzie (1745-1831), whose first novel, The Man of Feeling (pub. 1771), became a best seller. He wrote two more novels: The Man of the World (1773), and Julia de Roubigné (1777), which imitated Richardson's Clarissa. Sir Walter Scott was influenced by his writing and dedicated his Waverley novels to MacKenzie in 1814. (Daiches 338)
- 138 The H.M.S. Talbot, under the command of Captain Dickinson, had arrived in Simon's Bay from Mauritius, the previous day. (Cape Almanack 1832)
- 139 The Rev. Henry Fraser had arrived in Table Bay on 20 July on board the Lady Gordon. She had sailed from Liverpool on 2 May. He had been appointed to be Chaplain at Simon's Town in place of the late Rev. G. Sturt. (Gazette 22 July 1831)
- 140 Present at the fourth Annual General Meeting were the 102 children redeemed from Slavery by the Society since its inauguration in 1828. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27

Mr Armstrong of the 98th. Mr Balfour went to Simon's Town, also the Commodore and Capt. Dickinson.

Tuesday 26th A most numerous Soirée - and very beautiful music - the 72nd Band attending.

Wednesday 27th The Dyces, Dr. Swaine & Mr Clarke dined here.

Thursday 28th¹⁴² Another Grand Dinner - the 5th. The Bells, the Marshalls, the Wells, the Houghs,¹⁴³ Mr & Mrs Wilberforce Bird, Mr & Mrs Pennell, Mr Clarke, Captain Dwyer, Mr Cathcart.

Friday 29th The 6th Grand Dinner. The Bells, the Hares, Mrs Hawkins,¹⁴⁴ Miss Piggott, Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, Major & Mrs Michell, Captain & Mrs Doyle, Mr Petrie, Col. England, Major Hammond, Mr Graham.

Saturday 30th Major Hall, Col. Smith, & Mr Graham dined here, also Mr Clarke Burton.

Sunday 31st Mrs William Bird went away. The Warspite came in.¹⁴⁵ Captain Markham & Mr Arthur Balfour dined here. Mr Bowles came in the evening.

July 1831) According to Lady Frances Cole "a great deal of extraneous eloquence" was uttered. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

141 The Rev. Fearon Fallows, A.M., Astronomer Royal, died in the afternoon at the age of forty-two years. He had suffered from scarlet fever which had developed into dropsy and jaundice. He was described as: "an honest, upright and single minded man" (South African Commercial Advertiser 1 Aug. 1831; Warner 29)

142 Lady Frances: "Lowry went to the Observatory to attend Mr Fallow's funeral." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

143 The Rev. George Hough (1787-1867) was the Anglican Colonial Chaplain. (Cape Almanack 1831)

144 Her husband, Mr William Hawkins, was the East India Company's agent at the Cape. Since their arrival in 1823, he had encouraged the exportation of Cape wines. Besides having a house in Wale street, they owned Rouwkoop in Rondebosch and The Vineyard in Newlands. (Krüger 1:345)

145 The H.M.S. Warspite had sailed from Rio de Janeiro on 3 July for Simon's Bay, carrying the flag of the Rear-Admiral Baker. The Warspite was joining the squadron at Simon's Bay - it not being known then whether Commodore Schomberg would remain at the Cape or return to Europe. (South African Commercial Advertiser 3, 6 Aug. 1831)

August

Monday 1st The Govr. & Captain During went to Simon's Town.¹ The Bells dined here.

Tuesday 2nd The Governor returned. Miss Blair came. The 4th and last Soirée, not very full but pleasant - there was some Dancing.

Wednesday 3rd The Admiral,² his Son, & Mr Kant, his Secretary, arrived from Simon's Town. Miss Blair went away. Col. Smith, Col. England, Captain Poole;³ Mr Tyson, & his Brother (belonging to the Warspite) and Captain Hay⁴ dined here.

Thursday 4th The 7th great Dinner. The Bells, Mr & Mrs & Miss Truter,⁵ Mr & Mrs MacKay, Mr & Mrs Crosier, Captain & Mrs Logie, Mr & Mrs Adair, Col. Sweney, Mr Elsey, Lord Clarence Paget,⁶ Mr & Mrs Goodison, were the Guests.

Friday 5th The Belle Alliance came in.⁷ The 8th Great Dinner. The Bells, Mrs Stockenstrom, Sir John Truter, Major & Mrs Molesworth, Dr & Mrs Robinson,⁸ Mr & Mrs Borchards, Mr Marsdorp, Mr & Mrs E. Judge, Mr, Mrs & Miss Ebdon, Mrs Ramsay, Mr Arthur Balfour.

Saturday 6th I dined at Dr. Murray's where I met the Bells, the Menzies, Miss Pigot, Capt. Hay, Captain Poole, Major McKenzie & Major Hockley and Dr. Graham.

¹ Lady Frances: "Hard rain all the morning - Lowry went down to Simon's Town to see the Admiral & got very wet." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

² i.e. Admiral Baker, who had arrived on the H.M.S. Warspite in Simon's Bay on 31 July from Rio de Janeiro. (journal, PRO 30/43/114; South African Commercial Advertiser 3-6 Aug. 1831)

³ Of the Canning. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Mar. 1831)

⁴ Of the Maidstone (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Feb. 1831)

⁵ Probably Mr Oloff Johannes Truter (1797-1867), the second son of Sir J. A. Truter, the then retired chief Justice of the Colony. He and his wife, Catharina Geertruida Claris, had eight children. (Krüger 4:663)

⁶ Lord Clarence Edward Paget had entered the navy before he was a teenager in 1823. He was a lieutenant at this time.

⁷ The Belle Alliance had sailed from the Downs on 17 May for the Cape, Madras, and Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Aug. 1831)

⁸ Dr William Robertson had come to the Cape as a Government teacher. (Cape Almanack 1831)

Mrs Cloete,⁹ Major Cloete, Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, [P50] Mr Ramsay & Mr Kant dined at Govt. House.

Sunday 7th The Commodore arrived from Simon's Town, also Captain Talbot,¹⁰ who dined here, and Captain Hall. Mr Hamilton arrived.

Monday 8th The Govr., the Admiral, the Commodore &c &c dined at the 75th Mess. Catherine dined here.

Tuesday 9th Col. & Mrs Smith, the Bells, Lord Clarence Paget, Mr Hamilton & one or two more dined here.

Wednesday 10th Captn. Sinclair (of the Warspite), Mr Ramsay, the Dyces & Mr Arthur Balfour dined here. In the evening, most of the party went to a dance at Mrs Thomson's.

Thursday 11th Col., Mrs & Miss Thomson, Col. & Mrs Munro & Miss Taylor, Lord Clarence Paget, Captn. Talbot and Mr Kant dined here - there was a party in the evening - and the 72d Band attended.

Friday 12th Mr & Mrs Wimberley & Mr Clarke dined here.

Saturday 13th The Ladies Bazaar¹¹ took place and succeeded admirably - in about an hour everything was sold to the amount of 79 pounds. £14.10 - was received at the door in Shillings. Major Hall and Mr Graham dined with us.

Sunday 14th The Admiral & Commodore went away.

Monday 15th The Bells, the Menzies, Mr & Mrs Moody,¹² Miss Pigot, Mr Lewis and Mr Baillie dined here. Miss Blair came.

Tuesday 16th¹³ We went to Simon's Town.¹⁴ Miss Blair accompanied us. A large party assembled at the Commodore's to dinner consisting chiefly of Naval

⁹ i.e. Mrs P.L. Cloete (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

¹⁰ Captain Talbot of the H.M.S. Warspite, then anchored in Simon's Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Aug. 1831)

¹¹ Lady Frances: "The Ladies Bazaar held at the Commercial Exchange, amazingly crowded & the sale answered beyond all expectation producing £93!" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

¹² Either Mr Donald Moodie and his wife, Eliza Sophia Moodie, née Pigot, or Captain Benjamin Moodie, Donald's brother, and his wife from Swellendam. (Rainier 111)

¹³ Lady Frances: "Louisa's Birthday" (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Louisa Cole turned thirteen. (PRO 30/43/83)

Officers - there was dancing in the evening which was kept up till one o'clock. On the arrival of the Governor, a Salute was fired by the Warspite.

Wednesday 17th We were agreeably surprised by the arrival of Col. Bell, Catherine and Charles to breakfast.¹⁵ At half past one, we went on board the Warspite - The Yards were manned on our approach, and a Salute fired soon after we came on board - we then were shown all over the Ship, from the Lunter Deck to the Cock-pit - a sight which filled me with astonishment and admiration. At half past three we sat down to a very handsome dinner - twenty two dining with the Admiral, six or eight in the after cabin, & twenty six in the Wardroom.¹⁶ At dusk, we returned on Shore & soon after seven, dancing commenced.

Thursday 18th The Bells went away. The morning was very rainy, but it cleared up in the afternoon -¹⁷ Fanny & I, went to see poor Capt'n. Arland's Monument.¹⁸ There was a smaller dinner at the Commodore's - & no Dancing in the Evening.

Friday 19th We returned home to Tiffin.¹⁹

Saturday 20th His Majesty's Birthday²⁰ was celebrated by a Parade, a Levee,²¹ and a Grand Dinner given to the principal Authorities. The Ladies dined at Catherine Bell's - also Mr Cooke and George.

The Anthony came in.²²

14 Lady Frances: "A very fine & unusually hot day - Went to Simon's Town with all the Children except the two little ones - arrived at the Admiralty & were early." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

15 The Coles stayed in Simon's Town until the morning of the 19th Aug. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

16 Lady Frances: "returned to the Admiralty House for tea." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

17 Lady Cole added: "went to take leave of Col. & Mrs Wade." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

18 The position of Captain Arland's monument today is unknown.

19 cf. Lady Frances: "Left Simon's Town about ten when we took leave of Edward Blackburn with much regret - arrived in Town by two o'clock when heavy rain came on." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

20 His Majesty's Birthday being on Sunday 21 Aug., the ceremony was observed on the Saturday. "The troops were drawn up on parade, and a salute and feu-de-joie were fired, in the presence of his Excellency, the Commander in Chief, the Commandant, etc. Afterwards, at three o'clock, the Governor held a Levee at Government House." (South African Commercial Advertiser 24 Aug. 1831; Gazette 19 Aug. 1831)

21 A levee was an assembly held by the sovereign or sovereign's representative at which men only were received. (OED)

22 The brig Anthony had sailed from the Downs on 23 May for Table Bay. She carried a large mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 24 Aug. 1831)

Sunday 21st Mrs William Bird dined with us.

[P51]

Monday 22nd²³ Fanny's Birthday,²⁴ which was celebrated by a large dinner, chiefly composed of young people - & in the evening, a very merry dance in which persons of all ages joined. The Grown up Guests, were the Smiths, Col. Bell (Catherine was unwell), Mrs William Bird, Mr Clarke, the Dyces, the Henry Cloetes, Major Cloete, Col. England, Captain Hall, Mr Hamilton, Miss Pigot, & a few others.

Miss Blair

Tuesday 23rd Fanny dined with the Bells. The Dyces dined at Government House.

Wednesday 24th Arthur's Birthday.²⁵ The Bells, Col. Smith, Mrs William Bird, dined here. Capt. Dickinson came from Simon's Town.²⁶

Thursday 25th Major Perlby,²⁷ Major Hammond, Mr Frith, Mr Taylor (1st Lieut. of the Talbot),²⁸ Mr Rex and Captain Poole dined here.

Friday 26th A Ball at Government House; which went off well, but it was not very full.

Saturday 27th The Childers Brig of War²⁹ came into Table Bay with dispatches for Admiral Baker (now Sir Thomas)³⁰ - she left England the 26th June &

²³ Lady Frances: "The Warspite sailed for Mauritius taking the Wades, Blackburn, & Capt. Hay & Arthur Balfour passengers." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

²⁴ Lady Francis Cole's forty-seventh birthday. (Cole and Gwynn)

²⁵ Arthur Cole turned fourteen. (PRO 30/43/83)

²⁶ Captain R. Dickinson, C.B., commanded the H.M.S. Talbot (28 guns), which had arrived in Simon's Bay from Portsmouth, and St. Helena, on 20 Nov. 1830, and was then based there as part of the Naval Force. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Nov. 1830; Cape Almanack 1833)

²⁷ Major Parlby, B.A., was a visitor to the Cape from India. (Literary Gazette 2 July 1832)

²⁸ Lieutenant W.N. Taylor, of the H.M.S. Talbot. (Cape Almanack 1833)

²⁹ The H.M.S. Childers had sailed from Spithead on 20 June, and from Rio de Janeiro on 6 Aug., for Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Aug. 1831)

³⁰ "Much anxiety existed in Town on Saturday on a telegraph being made from the Signal-post to the port Office, that H.M. Ship Childers was approaching the Bay, having made a 67 days' passage from England. It was nearly calm during the whole day, so that ample time

touched at Rio in her way.

Mr Lewis, Mr Cumming, Mr Burrowes, Major Hockley, Mr Pears (of the Talbot), Mr Hope, Captn. Deans,³¹ Mr Macdonald,³² Mr Wimberley, and Mr Baillie dined here.

Sunday 28th Captn. Dickinson went back to Simon's Town.³³ Captn. Deans, Mr Macdonald, & Col. England dined here.

Monday 29th Captain Poole (from India),³⁴ Mr Moulting,³⁵ Mr Blake, Catherine Bell & Charles Bell dined here.

Tuesday 30th Miss Blair came. Mr Lindsay, Mr Clarke, Captain Blair, and the Bells dined at Govt. House. Mr Balfour and I, dined at Mr Henry Cloete's where we met the Menzies, the Moodies, Miss Pigot, Mr Daniel Cloete, Captain Poole & Mr Graham. The first South-easter.³⁶

Wednesday 31st Miss Blair went away. A very small family party at Dinner, consisting of the Govr. Fanny, Captain Daring & myself. The Cornwallis came in from Mauritius and brought letters.³⁷

was afforded for the various speculations as to her errand to the Cape.

It was at length ascertained that she brought dispatches for Admiral Baker, in the Warspite, which sailed for Mauritius a few days ago.

When near the Light-house, the Port Captain went off to her in his boat, and brought ashore the Captain and second Lieutenant, who immediately proceeded to Government House." (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Aug. 1831)

31 Captain Deans was commander of H.M.S. Childers which had arrived in Table Bay on 27 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Aug. 1831)

32 Lt Macdonald was on board the H.M.S. Childers. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

33 The H.M.S. Talbot was to sail from Simon's Bay the following day for Mauritius, under the command of Captain Dickinson. (Gazette 2 Sept. 1831)

34 Captain Poole, M.N.I., was a visitor from India. (Literary Gazette 2 July 1832)

35 Ensign G.B. Moultrie of H.M. 75th Regiment. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114; Cape Almanack 1831)

36 Lady Frances: "Fine day - South Easter rose in the afternoon." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) This wind was regarded as benevolent: "In respect to the important subject of health, the leading feature of the Cape climate is remarkable ... Cholera, typhus, bilious, remitting, and yellow fevers are unknown. The explanation is found in the frequent refreshing winds, which carry off deleterious matter, and diminish the depressing effects of summer heat. For this indulgence the Cape is indebted to its geographical position." (Irons 14) R.M. Ballantyne devoted several pages to a description of this wind, concluding: "The inhabitants call him the 'Cape Doctor', because in the general clearance he sweeps away bad smells, the natural result of bad drainage." (203-4)

37 The bark Cornwallis had sailed from Mauritius on 22 July, and from Mossel Bay on 24 Aug., for Table Bay. In addition to a cargo of sugar, she carried some mail. (Gazette 2 Sept. 1831)

September

Thursday 1st The Courier came in from England which she left the 26th June.³⁸ The 9th great dinner. The Bells, Mr & Mrs Moodie, Miss Pigot, Mr & Mrs Carey, Mr & Mrs Jardine,³⁹ Mr Menzies, Mr Hamilton, Captn. Keates, Captn. Halifax, Mr Baillie, Mr Graham, & Mr Payne dined here.

Friday 2nd The 10th Great Dinner. The Bells, the Stolls, Dr. & Mrs Leisching, Miss Leisching, Dr. & Mrs Dyce, Mr & Mrs Watermeyer, Captain Boyce, Mr Knollis, Mr Barnes, Mr & Mrs Hope, Captain Hope, & Mr Watt⁴⁰ dined here.

Saturday 3rd Mr Wimberley dined at Govt. House.

Sunday 4th The Bdelium and Brilliant⁴¹ arrived from England.

[P52]

Monday 5th The Olive Branch arrived.⁴² Catherine Bell, Charles Bell,⁴³ Mrs Moodie, Miss Pigot, Col. England, Captain England and Dr. Murray dined with us.

Tuesday 6th Captain & Mrs Davis (from Mauritius),⁴⁴ Col. & Mrs Smith, Major Hammond & Mr Sutton dined at Govt. House.

Wednesday 7th⁴⁵ Dr and Mrs Dyce, Mr Lewis, Mr Wimberley, Mr Baillie, & Major Molesworth dined here.

38 The brig Courier had sailed from London for Table Bay. She carried mail. (Gazette 2 Sept. 1831)

39 Mr A. J. Jardine was the librarian in the South African Public Library (est. 1820), then housed in the Commercial Exchange Building. (Cape Almanack 1831)

40 Mr Watt had arrived from Mauritius on board the Cornwallis on 31 Aug. (Gazette 2 Sept. 1831)

41 The brig Bdelium had sailed from Gravesend on 28 May for the Cape. The brig Brilliant had sailed from Plymouth on 29 May for Table Bay, and Van Diemen's Land. (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 Sept. 1831)

42 The brig Olive Branch had sailed from Torbay on 22 June for Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 Sept. 1831)

43 Lady Frances: "Col. Bell dined at the Club." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

44 Captain Davis, of H.M. 82nd Regt., and his wife had arrived on board the Amity which had sailed from Mauritius on 31 July for Simon's Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 Sept. 1831)

45 Lady Frances: "A very fine day - Drove Mrs Davis (82nd) to Green Point." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Thursday 8th The Governor gave a Grand Dinner.⁴⁶ Fanny and I, dined at Catherine Bell's - and in the evening I went to a dance at Mr Ebdens.
- Friday 9th Fanny, Mr Cooke and I, dined again with Catherine - we met the Smiths and Mr Baillie. The Governor gave another great dinner.⁴⁷
- Saturday 10th Major Britton, Captain Mason, Mr Brooke, Mr Campbell (all officers of the 4th Regiment)⁴⁸ Captain Chapman of the Brig Amity,⁴⁹ Mr Miller, Col. England and Major Cloete, dined here, also Mr Beaufray of the 29th.⁵⁰
- Sunday 11th⁵¹
- Monday 12th I went with Mrs Oliphant to hear the 72nd Band - afterwards we had a most splendid Luncheon in the Mess room - our party consisted of Mr Clarke Captain Blair, Mr Lewis, Mr Lindsay, Mr Hamilton & Mr Campbell - 4th Regt. Mr de Fleury, Monr. St Hilaire (belonging to the French Corvette L'Heroine)⁵² Major Cloete, Dr. Murray Mr Hamilton and the Bells, dined at Govt. House.
- Tuesday 13th A Ball at Government House - not very full but pleasant.
- Wednesday 14th The Orient came in⁵³ - with Mary Molloy on board.⁵⁴ Mr Burrowes, Mr Wimberley & Mr Scott dined at Govt. House. Mrs Oliphant came to Tiffin.

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- 46 Lady Frances: "A large man dinner at Govt House." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 47 Lady Frances: "A second large man dinner at Govt House." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 48 The 27th, 72nd, 75th, and 98th Regiments only were stationed in the Colony at this time, however, these men were in the 4th Division which was later involved in the Frontier Wars of 1835. (Brinton 42-56)
- 49 Lt Chapman was Agent for the Transports and had been a passenger on board the ship Amity. (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 Sept. 1831)
- 50 Lt Beaufoy of H.M. 29th Regiment had arrived at the Cape on board the ship Amity which had sailed from Mauritius on 31 July. (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 Sept. 1831)
- 51 Lady Frances: "Lisinka's day at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 52 The French frigate L'Heroine had arrived in Simon's Bay on 7 Sept. and was en route from Bourbon to Brest with military and naval officers and 109 soldiers. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Sept. 1831; Gazette 23 Sept. 1831)
- 53 The Orient had sailed from Portsmouth on 12 July for Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Sept. 1831)
- 54 She might have been in the steerage: there is no mention of her in the shipping lists.

- Thursday 15th I went with Mrs Stoll, Mrs Rogers and Dr. Dyce, to Wolf's Craig.
Mr Baillie, the Bells, and Mr Ford, dined here. Mr Lacy was married.⁵⁵
- Friday 16th The Governor had a Great Dinner. Fanny, the Children and myself, dined with Catherine. A very bad day.⁵⁶
- Saturday 17th I was in my room all day, with a cold on my Chest. Major Hall⁵⁷, Mr Baillie & Mr Lewis⁵⁸ dined at Govt. House.
- Sunday 18th I was still in my room. Sir George Walker arrived from Simon's Town.⁵⁹
- Monday 19th⁶⁰ I was still kept in my room. The Smiths and the Bells dined here.
- Tuesday 20th The first day of the Races to which I did not go. The Orient sailed⁶¹ with Mrs William Bird & Mary - also poor Mr Lindsay.⁶²
- Wednesday 21st I came down to dinner. Captn. Poole, Captn. Gervoise⁶³ and Mr Dobbin⁶⁴ dined here.

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- 55 Lt Thomas E. Lacy, of the 72nd Highlanders, commissioned on 3 Oct. 1826. (Cape Almanack 1832) As Captain he saw action on the Frontier in 1835. (Brinton 53)
- 56 Lady Frances: "Hard rain in the morning - Wind rose towards the afternoon & blew violently all the evening ... Large Man dinner at Govt House." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 57 Major George Hall, of the 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1832)
- 58 Mr Lewis was to leave shortly for India on board the Duke of Bedford. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 59 Lt-General Sir George T. Walker, G.C.B., and his family had arrived in Simon's Bay on board the H.M.S. Success on 17 Sept. (Gazette 23 Sept. 1831)
- 60 Lady Frances: "Fine day - Mrs Wm Bird came to breakfast & then went on board the Orient - Sir George Walker went back to the Bay." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 61 The Orient had sailed from Portsmouth on 12 July for the Cape and Calcutta. She had arrived in Table Bay on 14 Sept. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Sept. 1831)
- 62 Mrs Lindsay had sailed for Calcutta on board the Lord Hungerford almost a year before - on 19 Sept. 1830. (Lisinka, journal, PRO 30/43/121)
- 63 Captain W.E. Jarvoise Esq., was commander of the H.M.S. Success which had arrived in Simon's Bay on 17 Sept. from Madras; headed for London. (Gazette 23 Sept. 1831)
- 64 Mr Dobbin was probably one of the crew of the H.M.S. Success.

- Thursday 22nd A Ball at Government House to which I came down, & in consequence made my cold much worse. Dr Swayne dined here.
- [P53]
- Friday 23rd I was in bed all day. Miss Blair came. The Govr. went to the Turf Club dinner. Catherine, Mrs Smith & Charles Bell dined at Govt. House.
- Saturday 24th The last day of the Races.⁶⁵ Mr & Mrs Deas Thomson,⁶⁶ the Bells, Col. & Mrs Smith, the Dyces & Mr Baillie dined here.
- Sunday 25th⁶⁷
- Monday 26th Sir George Walker and Miss Walker, the Bells, Col. England, Captain Blair, & Mr Lewis dined here, also Dr. Murray, & Major Hall.
- Tuesday 27th I dined down stairs for the first time since Thursday. It was a family party, with the exception of Miss Blair.
- Wednesday 28th George Harris came from Simon's Town. Another family party at dinner.
- Thursday 29th The Governor dined at the 75th Mess. All the Gentlemen dined out. Catherine & Charles Bell dined at Govt. House.
- Friday 30th The Bells, Baron & Baroness Lorentz, Captain Bance, Mr Alexander⁶⁸ and Mr Rex dined here.
- October
- Saturday 1st The Commodore came.⁶⁹ The Dyces & Mr Clarke dined here.
- Sunday 2nd Mr Bowles⁷⁰ dined at Govt. House.

⁶⁵ Lady Frances: "Took the Children there ... Pig Races & Men in Sacks amused the children very much." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

⁶⁶ Mr Deas Thomson (1802-1845) was Naval Officer Store-keeper at the Naval Office in Simon's Town at that time. (Cape Almanack 1831)

⁶⁷ Lady Frances: "Cloudy morning - Very stormy forenoon with a great deal of rain." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

⁶⁸ i.e. First Lt C.C. Alexander of the Royal Engineers. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114; Cape Almanack 1831)

⁶⁹ i.e. "from Simon's Town." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

⁷⁰ i.e. Mr Henry Bowles. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Monday 3rd Sir George and Miss Walker and the Bells dined at Govt. House. I went to Sans Souci to celebrate Anne Menzie's Birthday - The Blairs, the Jardines, Mr Lewis, Mr Alexander, Mr Tyson, Mr & Mrs Steuart, Mr Murray & Col. Blake dined there.
- Tuesday 4th We went to the Wynberg Races - it was a most beautiful Day - the Race rode by Gentlemen was won by Mr Tyson, who rode Mr Blair's John Bull.
- Wednesday 5th⁷¹
- Thursday 6th I returned home to celebrate Nett's 5th Birthday.⁷² The Bells, the Smiths, the Dyces, Mr Baillie, Mr Clarke, Mr Lewis, Mr Oliphant, dined with us.
- Friday 7th⁷³ Four Officers belonging to the French Corvette L'Infatigable,⁷⁴ Baron Lorentz & Major Cloete dined here.
- Saturday 8th Fanny, the Children and Captain During went to the Play. Dr. Burrow (lately arrived from England)⁷⁵ dined at Govt. House.
- Sunday 9th⁷⁶ The Mary Jane came in.⁷⁷
- Monday 10th I went to Wilterfreeda.⁷⁸ The Bells and the Walkers dined at Govt. House. At Mr Blair's I met Mrs Menzies, Mr Hamilton & Mr Clarke.
- Tuesday 11th Mr & Mrs Hare and Mr Alexander dined at Mr Blair's.

⁷¹ Lady Frances: "A very hot day - Mr Lewis, Mr Cumming, Dr. Rolmin & Col. Sunning all returning to India in the Duke of Bedford came to take leave - Dr Burrows just arrived from England in her dined here." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

⁷² i.e. Henrietta Cole, the youngest child. (PRO 30/43/83)

⁷³ Lady Frances: "The [Duke of] Bedford sailed for India." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Her destination was Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 Oct. 1831)

⁷⁴ The French corvette L'Infatigable, had sailed from Bourbon on 11 Sept. for Brest with 169 troops. (Gazette 7 Oct. 1831)

⁷⁵ Rev. Dr Burrow, with his two daughters and son, had arrived on 4 Oct. on board the Duke of Bedford which had sailed from Portsmouth for Calcutta. (Cape Almanack 1832)

⁷⁶ Lady Frances: "Sacrament Sunday, the Service lasted till three o'clock." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

⁷⁷ The Mary & Jane had sailed from Portsmouth on 26 July for Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Oct. 1831)

⁷⁸ Lady Frances: "took Lisinka to Weltefreda (Mr Blair's)." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Wednesday 12th I returned home.⁷⁹ The Governor, the two elder Boys,
Captain During & Dr Dyce set off on a Tour.⁸⁰ The Bells dined with us.
- Thursday 13th The Commodore went away.⁸¹
- Friday 14th We all dined at Col. Bell's. Mr Alexander was the only Guest, or
rather Stranger.
- Saturday 15th⁸²
- Sunday 16th The Leda came in⁸³ with the news of the War between Holland &
Belgium.⁸⁴
- Monday 17th We all dined at Col. Bell's.
- [P54]
- Tuesday 18th We went to hear the 72d Band, & the singing which was
beautiful.⁸⁵ The Smiths, the Bells, Sir George & Lady Walker & Miss Walker,
were invited also. Miss Blair & Miss Hare went with us.

Wednesday 19th⁸⁶ The Bells, the Smiths & Mr Oliphant dined with us.

Thursday 20th We heard of the arrival of the Childers from Mauritius after a
passage of 14 days!⁸⁷

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- 79 Lady Frances: "Lisinka returned home from Mrs Blair's." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 80 It was to be "a three weeks Tour." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 81 Lady Frances: "The Commodore & George went to Simon's Town." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 82 Lady Frances: "A fine day - Drove to Protea - Florence went to stay a few days with her Aunt." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 83 The bark Leda had sailed from the Downs on 7 Aug. for Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 19 Oct. 1831)
- 84 The editorial reported: "By the English papers up to the 5th August received by the Leda ... By the latest intelligence from Antwerp, it appears that hostilities had recommenced between the Dutch and Belgian troops. Some fighting had taken place near Ghent, and several lives were lost on both sides. The negotiations,[sic] however, which were pending, would no doubt lead to a settlement of the disputes. The Dutch army is stated to amount to 80 000 men; and that of the Belgians to about 60 000." (South African Commercial Advertiser 19 Oct. 1831)
- 85 Lady Frances: "Went in the morning to the Barracks to hear the Band of the 72nd." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 86 Lady Frances: "Heard from Lowry from Swellendam." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 87 The H.M.S. Childers had sailed from Mauritius on 5 Oct. for Simon's Bay, in company with the H.M.S. Warspite, but they had parted during the night of the 6th. (Gazette 28 Oct. 1831) The Warspite was expected at any moment. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Friday 21st We dined at Col. Bell's.

Saturday 22nd⁸⁸

Sunday 23rd⁸⁹ The Warspite came in from Mauritius.⁹⁰ Mr Arthur Balfour who came to Cape Town immediately, brought a good report of Col. Wade.⁹¹ Miss Mylius, Col. Cunningham & Mr C. Royce⁹² are passengers on board of her. George Harris accompanied Arthur Balfour⁹³ from Simon's Town. The Bells dined with us.

Monday 24th We drove to Protea.

Tuesday 25th The Wades and Miss Mylius arrived from Cape Town - Col. Wade looking much better, than I expected to see him. Miss Blair came to us. The Bells dined here - also Admiral Baker, who came up from Simon's Town, and Mr Tyson.

Wednesday 26th Col. Cunningham called here. Miss Mylius dined with us. The Admiral went away.

Thursday 27th A most violent South Easter.⁹⁴ The Bells dined with us.

Friday 28th Miss Blair went away.

88 Lady Frances: "Drove to Baroness Lorentz's." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

89 Lady Frances: "Lisinka's Sunday at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

90 The H.M.S. Warspite had sailed from Mauritius on 5 Oct. for Simon's Bay; her ultimate destination being Rio de Janeiro. (South African Commercial Advertiser 26 Oct. 1831)

91 Col. Thomas Francis Wade, of H.M. 72nd Regiment, and Mrs Wade had travelled on board the H.M.S. Warspite. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Oct. 1831)

92 A Mr Rogers was listed as a passenger on board the H.M.S. Warspite; no mention was made of a Mr Royce. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Oct. 1831)

93 Ensign Arthur Lowry Balfour of H.M. 72nd Regiment was on board the H.M.S. Warspite also. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Oct. 1831; Cape Almanack 1831)

94 Lady Frances: "The most tremendous storm from the S. East - Chimneys & Trees blown down all over the Town." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) "The wind blew on Wednesday and Thursday with great force from the Southward, causing considerable damage in the gardens in the vicinity of Cape Town. No communication could be held with the shipping on those days; and on Thursday afternoon most of the vessels in the Bay drifted. Yesterday morning a heavy shower of rain fell, and the wind moderated." (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Oct. 1831)

- Saturday 29th The Bells dined here. The Boys went to the Play.⁹⁵
- Sunday 30th George Harris went away. The Admiral came. The Bells, the Smiths, Mr Clarke & Arthur Balfour dined with us.
- Monday 31st The Commodore came - he and the Admiral, & Mr Balfour dined at the 72d Mess where the new Colonel, made his appearance for the first time.⁹⁶ Catherine, Mrs Wade, and Miss Mylius, dined with us.
- November
- Tuesday 1st Fanny, the Admiral, the Commodore and the rest of our Party, dined at Col. Bell's, where we met the Houghs, & Mr Webster, & Capt. Talbot.
- Wednesday 2nd The Governor & Suite, returned from their Tour.⁹⁷ Mrs Smith dined here. The Admiral & Commodore dined at the mess of the 75th.
- Thursday 3d I dined at Col. Wade's where I met, Major Hall, Captain Talbot, Major Molesworth, Mr Clarke, Mr John Tyson & Mr Charles Bell. Miss Mylius and the Admiral dined at Mr Cloete's. The Bells and Captain Hall, dined at Govt. House.
- Friday 4th Fanny and I, went to a grand musical Party at the 72d Barracks, given by Col. Wade - principally for the sake of the Admiral and the Gentlemen belonging to the Warspite; there were upwards of 40 persons who sat down to a most excellent Tiffin or rather dinner [P55] between three and four o'clock. The Music was most exquisite, and I never heard the Band play *Der Freischütz* ^[sic]⁹⁸ & the overture to *Anacreon*,⁹⁹ so well. The long expected *Arab* came into Simon's Bay having been driven out of Table Bay, by the tremendous South Easter on Thursday 27 October.¹⁰⁰

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- 95 The South African Theatre performed Carl von Weber's Grand Opera, *Der Freischütz*, (three acts); and the farce *Animal Magnetism*. (*South African Commercial Advertiser* 26 Oct. 1831)
- 96 The new Lt-Col. was John Peddie, who was to have Fort Peddie named after him. Lt-Col. Thomas Francis Wade retired. (*Cape Almanack* 1833)
- 97 Lady Frances: "Lowry arrived most unexpectedly about eleven o'clock - having found the weather Touring extremely cold." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 98 Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz* first had been produced in Berlin on 18 June 1821. (Blom 220)
- 99 Luigi Cherubini's *Anacréon* or *L'Amour fugitif*, an opera-ballet, first had been produced in Paris on 4 Oct. 1803. (Blom 18)
- 100 The *Arab* had sailed from Mauritius on 1 Oct. for Simon's Bay and England, with Officers and 141 men of H.M. 82nd Regiment. (*South African Commercial Advertiser* 9 Nov. 1831)

Saturday 5th The Govr. Fanny, the Admiral, the Commodore and I, dined at Col. Wade's where we met the Bells, Col. Cunningham and Col. Balfour. Dr. Shanks, & Captn. McKay, who with Col. Balfour came up today, from Simon's Town,¹⁰¹ dined at Govt. House - also Dr. Dyce & Charles Bell.

Sunday 6th The Admiral went away, to our very great regret.¹⁰² The Commodore also returned to Simon's Town. Col. Balfour and his Son, Col. Cunningham, Captn. McKay, Dr. Shanks, Mr Rouillard¹⁰³ and Mr Pitot¹⁰⁴ dined here. Mr Bowles came in the evening.

Monday 7th The Governor, Mr Balfour & James, went to Simon's Town.¹⁰⁵ I paid some visits in the country with Catherine. Sir J. Wyld called.

Tuesday 8th Captain During went to Simon's Town with the little Wades; and returned in the evening. Miss Mylius spent the day here. The Bells dined here.

Wednesday 9th The Governor and James returned from Simon's Town. We were a Trio at dinner!¹⁰⁶

Thursday 10th The Bells, Col. Balfour, Captn. McKay, Dr. Shanks, Dr. Dyce, Monr. Rouillard & Mr Pitot, Mr Maxwell¹⁰⁷ and two or three more officers belonging to the 82d dined here.

Friday 11th I dined at Col. Bell's, where I met Mr & Mrs Wells, Miss Mylius, Col. Balfour, his Son, Captn. McKay, Dr. Shanks, Dr. Dyce, Dr. Graham & Mr Maxwell. The Smiths, Mr Webster, Mr Roger & some officers

101 Lt-Col. Balfour, Captain MacKay, and Assistant Surgeon Shanks, were passengers from Mauritius on board the Arab which had anchored in Simon's Bay the previous day. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Nov. 1831)

102 Admiral Baker sailed for Rio de Janeiro on board the H.M.S. Warspite shortly afterwards. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

103 Three Rouillard family members are listed in the Mauritius Gazette of 1828. (18 Aug. 1828; PRO 30/43/93)

104 Mr C. Pitot, his son C. Pitot, and three other Pitots are listed in the Mauritius Gazette of 1828. (18 Aug. 1828; PRO 30/43/93)

105 Lady Frances: "A very warm day - Lowry went to Simon's Town taking Franco, Horace Baker & Jumbo with him." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Lady Frances referred to Arthur Balfour, Admiral Baker, and James Henry Cole respectively.

106 Lady Frances: "We dined a Trio - Lowry, Lisinka & I!" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

107 Lady Frances: "Mr Maxwell (82d) came to us." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Lt Maxwell had arrived in Simon's Bay on board the Arab on 4 Nov. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Nov. 1831)

of the 82d dined at Governmt. House; some of the party came to Col. Bell's in the evening.¹⁰⁸

Saturday 12th Col. Balfour, Capt. McKay and Dr. Shanks came to take leave - Mr Maxwell also went away.¹⁰⁹ The Bells and Mr Baillie dined here.

Sunday 13th¹¹⁰ Miss Mylius spent the day here. Mr Clarke dined with us.

Monday 14th The Bells and Major Hall dined here.

Tuesday 15th Poor Captain Markham was released from his sufferings!¹¹¹

Wednesday 16th The Bells dined here. George came.

Thursday 17th Willy's Birthday¹¹² - but the celebration of it was put off, on account of this day being appointed for the Funeral of Capt. Markham - It took place at five o'clock in the evening. As I had never seen a Military Funeral, I was anxious to witness this - and accordingly I went with some of the children to the House of Mrs Henry Cloete, from which we had a full view of the mournful procession. Never was any sight more impressive, or more touching! The deep tones of the muffled Drum, announced the approach of the procession, some time before it came in sight - and it is impossible to describe [P56] the sensation produced, by the sound of the slow & measured step of the Soldiers; as they approached - the Band playing the "Dead March" - The whole of the 72d attended, nearly the whole of the 75th and all the Artillery - after the military, came a long train of Civilians - & then some Carriages, amongst which was that of the Chief Justice. George Harris, as being related to Captain Markham, was one of the Pall Bearers - the others were Mr Frith,¹¹³ Capt. Jarvis, Doyle, Logie¹¹⁴ & Graham¹¹⁵ Mr Lacy,¹¹⁶ followed the Coffin as Chief Mourner. His

¹⁰⁸ The group included Lady Frances. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

¹⁰⁹ The Arab sailed for England on 19 Nov. with Lt-Col. Balfour, Captain MacKay, Lt Maxwell, and Dr Shanks. (Cape Almanack 1832)

¹¹⁰ Lady Frances: "Heard a very bad account of Capt. Markham." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

¹¹¹ Lady Frances: "Poor Capt Markham expired at 4 o'clock pm!" (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Captain Warren Markham of H.M. 72nd Regt., was only thirty at the time of his death. (Gazette 18 Nov. 1831)

¹¹² William Cole turned twelve. (PRO 30/43/83)

¹¹³ i.e. Lt John Frith, of H.M. 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1832)

¹¹⁴ Captains Henry Jarvis, John Doyle, and Alexander Logie were of H.M. 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1832)

¹¹⁵ Captain William Graham was Paymaster of H.M. 72nd Regiment (Cape Almanack 1832)

¹¹⁶ Lt Thomas E. Lacy, of H.M. 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1832)

Excellency & Col. Smith closed the Military part of the Procession. Col. Bell & Mr Menzies, were at the head of the Civilians - then followed Mr Balfour, with Arthur & William, who at their own desire, were allowed to attend. I do not think any thing ever conveyed to my mind, so forcibly, the contrast between the activity of life, & the stillness of Death, as the sight of the accoutrements of the Deceased - the Sword, the Sash, the Belt, & the Bonnet, placed upon the Coffin ! I thought of the time, when I had seen him arrayed in these, and then of the decaying from within ! It was an awful moment ! But when I cast my eyes to the pure, calm Sky, and the glories of the departing Sun, I felt a hope, that the Soul of our Friend was then as pure, as serene and as glorious ! Fanny, the Girls, and myself, had a quiet dinner at Col. Bell's - we all felt sad at heart !

Friday 18th Milly's Birthday was kept. Besides a large juvenile party, the company at Dinner, consisted of Col. & Mrs Smith, Col. Bell & Catherine, Mrs Wade, Miss Mylius, Dr. & Mrs Dyce, Col. Cunningham, Mr Clarke Burton, Mr Bowles, Mr Baillie, and Charles Bell.

Saturday 19th We all dined out. I dined at Col. Wade's where I met Captain Young, Captain Graham and Mr Harding.

Sunday 20th I went to the Military Chapel where I heard an excellent Sermon preached by Mr Judge on the subject of poor Capt. Markham's death. After Church, Fanny and the Children, went to Protea.¹¹⁷ The Govr. Captain During, Mr Balfour and I, dined at Col. Bell's, where we met Lord Clarence Paget, Col. Cunningham, Mr Webster.

Monday 21st The Bells dined at Government House. I drove, with Miss Mylius, to Wolf's Crag.

Tuesday 22nd The Governor, Mr Balfour, & Captain During and I, came to Protea.¹¹⁸

Protea
Wednesday 23rd Dr. Dyce called.

Thursday 24th The Governor, Fanny &c went to Town. Mrs England called - George Harris came.

¹¹⁷ Lady Frances: "rather cold - Went to Church in Cape Town - & then to Protea in the afternoon - taking the Children & part of the Establishment with me." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

¹¹⁸ They brought "the remainder of the establishment" with them. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Friday 25th Dr Burrow and Judge Burton breakfasted here. Col. & Mrs Prendergast & Miss Prendergast called.¹¹⁹ I dined at Sans Souci to celebrate Mrs Menzies' Birthday - there was a very pleasant dance in the evening.

[P57]

Saturday 26th Col. Munro, Mr Sutton, Captn. Poole, Col. Bell & Catherine, Mr & Mrs Carey, Mrs & Miss Thomson & Captn. Halifax & Col. Smith called. Mr Clarke came & Dr. Burrow.

Sunday 27th Mr Bird, Captn. Hare, Col. Blake & Col. Thomson called.

Monday 28th Dr. Burrow and Mr Clarke went away. I went to Town with the Governor. Mrs Bird, Mrs Hare, Mrs Menzies & Miss Walker called.

Tuesday 29th Mr & Mrs Wells, and Mr George Bagley dined & slept here. Col. England dined here.

Wednesday 30th Mrs & Miss Bird called. Dr. Dyce called. Mr Baillie dined here and Major Michell. Mr Hamilton called.

December

Thursday 1st The Govr. &c &c went to Town.¹²⁰ Mrs Munro and Miss Taylor called. Major Cloete dined and slept here. Charles Bell came. Mr Burroughs called.

Friday 2nd Mrs Smith called. The Menzies, the Steuarts and Mr Hamilton dined here.

Saturday 3rd Miss Mylius and the Bells came. Caroline and Isabella Hare dined & slept here. Sir George Walker and Miss Walker dined here.

Dr Murray dined here.

Sunday 4th Mr & Mrs Deas Thomson & Mrs Mynheer called. Captn. England & Captain Boys¹²¹ called.

119 Col. Prendergast M.M.S., with Mrs Prendergast and their three daughters, had arrived in Table Bay on 14 Nov. 1830 on board the Neptune, from Portsmouth. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Nov. 1830) They lived at Liesbeck Cottage in Rondebosch. (South African Commercial Advertiser 19 May 1832)

120 Lady Frances: "Fine day - went to Town with the Girls - & was to bring back Miss Mylius but found her unwell." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

121 Captain J.H.H. Boys of H.M. 75th Regiment had arrived at the Cape on board the Lady East on 22 Aug. 1830. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1830)

- Monday 5th The Commodore and Col. Cunningham came to Protea. Mr & Mrs Bird dined here.
- Mr Cloete called.
- Tuesday 6th Mr & Mrs Deas Thomson, Col. Munro & Dr. and Mrs Dyce called. Col. Thomson Mrs Thomson & Miss Thomson, & Col. England dined here. Miss Taylor was married.¹²²
- Wednesday 7th Major & Mrs Michell, Dr. Burrow, Mrs P. L. and Mrs Henry Cloete, Mr Oliphant & Dr. Dyce called & Mr Arthur Balfour; also Mr & Mrs Steuart, Mr & Mrs Hough dined here. Captn. Sinclair came.¹²³
- Thursday 8th Almost every body went to Town. Lord Elibank, Mr Murray, Mr Burton, Mr & Mrs Majoribanks¹²⁴ & Mr Burroughs¹²⁵ dined here.
- Friday 9th The Commodore of the American Frigate (The Potomac),¹²⁶ Mr Hoff, Mr Hakecum, Col. Smith & Captain Bance dined here; also Mr Oliphant.
- Saturday 10th James's Birthday was kept.¹²⁷ George Harris came. Col. Wade breakfasted here. Mrs Wade dined here. Mr Brownrigg called; also Mr Blair.
- Sunday 11th Mr Proctor & Major Hall, & Mr & Mrs Ford, Mr Polewhole and Mr Liardet of the Jaseur,¹²⁸ called. Mr Oliphant went away.
- Monday 12th The Governor, Mr Balfour, Captn. During set off on a Tour.¹²⁹ Mr Burroughs & Mr Duthie called. Col. & Mrs Smith came. The Bells went away.
-
- ¹²² Miss Catherine Taylor, only daughter of the late Lt-Col. Taylor of 20th Light Dragoons, married Major Frederick Hammond, of H.M. 75th Regiment. The Rev. Henry G.P. Cooke, B.A., acting for the Chaplain to the Forces, officiated. (*Gazette* 9 Dec. 1831)
- ¹²³ Captain Sinclair commanded the H.M.S. *Jaseur* which had arrived in Simon's Bay on 1 Dec. from Mauritius. (*Gazette* 9 Dec. 1831)
- ¹²⁴ Captain and Mrs Marjoribanks, their infant, and two servants, had arrived at the Cape on 5 Oct. from Madras, on board the *Hero of Malowne*. (*Gazette* 7 Oct. 1831)
- ¹²⁵ Captain Burroughs B.A., was a visitor at the Cape from India. (*Literary Gazette* 2 July 1832)
- ¹²⁶ The U.S. Frigate *Potomac* (52 guns) had sailed from New York on 29 Aug., and Rio on 5 Nov., bound for the Pacific via Java and Canton. Commodore Downs had put in at the Cape for refreshments. (*Gazette* 9 Dec. 1831)
- ¹²⁷ James Henry Cole turned ten years old. (PRO 30/43/83)
- ¹²⁸ The H.M.S. *Jaseur* had arrived in Simon's Bay on 1 Dec. from Mauritius. (*Gazette* 9 Dec. 1831)
- ¹²⁹ Lady Frances: "Lowry went to Town before breakfast & from thence set out for the Bokkeveldt." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Tuesday 13th Mr & Mrs Wells, Major & Mrs Cotton, Sir George and Lady Walker called, & Col. England. The Bells came.

Wednesday 14th The Bells & Col. Cunningham went away.

Thursday 15th I went to Col. Bell's¹³⁰ - where I remained till Monday. The Rewards to the Sunday School were given on Sunday the 18th.¹³¹

A Fire very near Protea on Friday 16th.¹³²

Monday 19th Mr Arthur Balfour dined at Protea. Col. Cunningham returned. Col. Smith [P58] went to meet the Governor at Mr Proctor's.

Tuesday 20th The Governor & Col. Smith returned.

Wednesday 21st Captn. Sinclair & Mr Baillie dined and slept at Protea.

Thursday 22nd Almost all the party went to Cape Town.¹³³ Mr Proctor dined & slept at Protea.

Friday 23rd The Bells came.

Saturday 24th

Sunday 25th¹³⁴ A very hot day. Mr Baillie dined here.

Monday 26th The Dyces came & Arthur Balfour. Mrs Wade & the Children spent the day here. We all had a cold collation in a Bower erected by the

- 130 Lady Frances: "very hot in Town - went there with the Children & left Lisinka & Willy with Catherine - returned to Protea in the evening." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 131 Lady Frances: "Hot day - went into Town to give the presents to the Sunday School ... Lisinka's Sunday at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 132 Lady Frances: "Fine day - A Fire broke out at Kirstenbosch & extended with such rapidity as to excite some alarm - Mr Brownrigg & some other Gentlemen came to our assistance & by great exertion it was extinguished after destroying all the Brushwood around us." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 133 Lady Frances, the children and Miss Mylius went to Town. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 134 Christmas Day.

Children for the occasion. We heard of the arrival of the Undaunted from the Mauritius.¹³⁵ Major Fraser came in her & called at Protea in his way to Town.

Tuesday 27th The Bells and the Smiths went away. Messrs. Alexander, Sutton & Tyson, dined here.

Wednesday 28th The Dyces, and Col. Cunningham went away. Captain Blair, Mr Hamilton, & Mr Alexander dined here. Major Fraser came.

Thursday 29th We all went to Town.¹³⁶ The Blakes, Mr Brownrigg, Mr Watt & Captain Watt, Col. England & Major Michell dined here.

Friday 30th Innumerable visitors came this day, chiefly passengers by the Caesar¹³⁷ & Triumph.¹³⁸ Mr Norman & Mr Torrens dined at Protea. I was in my room all the day.¹³⁹

Saturday 31st The Jordison arrived from England friday evening¹⁴⁰ - Alfred Harris¹⁴¹ came in her. I received a letter from Julia giving me an account of her dear Mother's death, on the 3d September. I went to Town with Col. Wade & returned early. The Blakes called - & Mr & Mrs Wells, to take leave.¹⁴² The Commodore & Capt'n. Henry, the Bells and Alfred Harris came to Protea. I dined in my own room.

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- 135 The H.M.S. Undaunted had sailed from Mauritius on 26 Nov. for Simon's Bay, where she anchored on Christmas Day. (Gazette 30 Dec. 1831)
- 136 Lady Frances: "Fine day - went into Town with the Children - Lisinka went with me." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 137 The Caesar had arrived in Table Bay on 27 Dec. from Calcutta. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 138 The Triumph had arrived in Table Bay on 28 Dec. from Plymouth, on her way to Bombay. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 139 The previous evening Lisinka had received the news of Mrs Carmen's death. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 140 The brig Jordison had sailed from Torbay on 26 Sept. for Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 Jan. 1832)
- 141 Ensign Alfred Harris, of H.M. 72nd Highlanders, and relative of George Harris, arrived on board the brig Jordison on 30 Dec. (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 Jan. 1832)
- 142 Lady Frances: "Col. Cunningham came to take leave of us having taken his passage for England in the Caesar." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

The Journal of Elizabeth Cozens

The Journal - 1832

In the Winter of 1832 Sir Lowry suffered much from lumbago.¹ Sir Lowry was almost sixty and his war wounds, which had been severe, would have aggravated the pain. On the subject of age, there is some confusion concerning Lady Frances Cole's date of birth. Hammerton points out that many women misquoted their ages during the early nineteenth century (Ch.5). Although this may have been the case, Maud Lowry Cole, in the Memoirs, states that Lady Frances was thirty-two at the time of her marriage in July 1815 (117). Her birthday was celebrated on 22 August, therefore she should have turned thirty-three in August 1815; however, in a letter written from Lord Malmesbury to his daughter, Frances, on 22 August 1818, we discover that he wished her well on the occasion of her thirty-fourth birthday.² Working backwards from this date we find that Frances turned thirty-one on 22 August 1815 and, therefore, was thirty at the time of her marriage to the forty-two year old Sir Lowry Cole.

For Lisinka, events were rather quiet for the first quarter of the year. In May a Trial that aroused much interest was that of Rex versus Dreyer. It was considered an unusual case because of the relativity of status of the persons involved. Its development

was thoroughly recorded in three consecutive editions of the South African Commercial Advertiser. Mr Hendrik Oswald Dreyer was charged with the murder of Ephraim, a slave who belonged to his father, Mr Thomas F. Dreyer, at Alphen, near Wynberg, on 17 February the previous year.

There was nothing peculiar in this case. The deep interest which it excited arose chiefly from the relative situations in society of the Deceased, the principal Witnesses, and the Accused. The verdict of the Jury was "Not Guilty", which accorded, in our opinion, with the spirit of the Judge's Charge. The Judge was Sir John Wylde, assisted by Mr Justice Menzies.³

On 1 July the North wind reached gale-force and severely tested the anchors and cables of the nineteen ships then at anchor in Table Bay. The cold weather also brought on Sir Lowry Cole's rheumatism which prevented his participation in the second grand Dinner on the 5 July, and he was indisposed for almost half the month thereafter.

The bark Severn, in the meantime, sailed from Mauritius in mid-July and arrived in Table Bay on 11 August bringing the latest news of the troubled situation there. The subject was slavery. It appeared that the fomenter was a Mr Jeremie, and the excited reaction had been caused by the new Order in Council for the regulation of Slave Labour, the promulgation of which the colonists of the Isle de France believed would result in their ruin.

In July Sir Lowry Cole had long discussions with Admiral Warren concerning the situation at Mauritius. Subsequently Sir Lowry wrote to Lord Viscount Goderich:

This excitement was not unforeseen by me when I heard of Mr Jeremie's arrival in Table Bay on his way to the Mauritius to fill the situation of Procureur Général, & in a conversation I had with him at that time, I stated to him, that if it was the determination of H.M.'s Govt to carry through the measures I understood from him they proposed to do, I regretted that he was not accompanied by a sufficient armed force to

preclude any attempt on the part of the Inhabitants to resist them by force of Arms.⁴

Sir Lowry, who had taken a great interest in the ensuing affairs and prosperity of Mauritius, had warned Lord Goderich that he regretted that it had been thought desirable to appoint Mr Jeremie as the Procureur Général of Mauritius. Of Mr Jeremie, both an Englishman and an outsider, Sir Lowry had little praise:

I must in candour say, I most sincerely regret he was ever sent there, as in my opinion a more obnoxious person could not well have been fixed on - besides which he supersedes the most popular, influential, able & respected man at the Bar & the only reasonable Man of any insight at it.⁵

Nevertheless, the white inhabitants on the Island demanded that their governor, Sir Charles Colville, absolve them from offences committed against both the existing and the future laws. Public meetings were held which "spoke Sedition, voted Treason, and then softened it down to nothing, when it came to the point."⁶ The Government itself was denied the use of the free press, the Court's sessions and all public and private business were suspended, and the Governor as well as several other officials were placed under the protection of the military forces. Mr Jeremie's presence was blamed for all these measures:

If the Governor would only send Mr Jeremie away, or if Mr Jeremie would withdraw, they have declared solemnly that they would all return to their duty and allegiance. The very existence of this Island, they affirm, depends upon the motions of Mr Jeremie ... He can only be compared to Gulliver among the Lilliputians.⁷

Although a separate Order-in-Council (6 February 1832) had made specific provision for the slave-owners at the Cape, it was popularly believed that the laws promulgated in England, relating to the treatment of slaves, were irrelevant in a distant colony whose situation clearly was not understood (Hunt 120). We shall see that this matter was to delay Sir Lowry Cole's return to his homeland. Sir Lowry Cole had good reason for wishing to return to England:

My elder children are now of an age to make it very desirable that they should go home for their Education, & I have had it in contemplation for some time past to write to you for permission to do so, & have only been deterred from making the application [-] by the apparent alarming & unsettled state of affairs in England, which has made me hesitate & reflect whether it might not be more prudent with so young a family to remain some time longer where I am ever under the great disadvantage the Elder part of them will labor [sic] from want of proper Masters - I should of course wish if possible to go home on leave of absence, & as I shall be nearly 9 years absent from England by the time I propose going home, (February next,) in ordinary times I might be considered as having a fair claim to this indulgence, but in these days of Reform & Enquiry, I feel that it may be possible that you cannot comply with my request, however disposed I believe you to be to meet my wishes where you can do so with propriety - I shall not therefore press this, but leave the manner to your own judgement, more particularly so as I feel I could not recommend any one here to act during my absence, & I can scarce expect that any one could be found who would come out here under the expectation of being superseded in a year or two, & I cannot expect the same good fortune Lord Chas. Somerset had, to find a Genl. Officer Sir R. Donkin on his way home from India who could be stopped here for my accommodation.

My reason for wishing to go home in Feby. next is, that there are two China Ships which touch here every year on their way home with Teas for the Colony, & with a family like mine it will be difficult to find tolerable accommodation in any other class of merchantman, & Fanny is very unwilling to go home without me, & it is but right to you not to delay in communicating to you my present notice.⁸

To Sir Herbert Taylor, Sir Lowry added an important paragraph on the subject:

To you however I will say in strict confidence what I have not thought it would be right to say to Lord Goderich - that I have not the slightest intention to return here, even supposing I succeed in getting leave of absence. At the same time, with so large a family & no great means, it is not impossible in these times, I might feel it just towards them to return, if in my power ... My eldest girl is now fifteen & ought to go home - & my eldest boy fourteen.⁹

In March 1832 Sir Lowry expressed his disappointment to Lord Goderich that he would not be in a position to take the official leave granted to him because of the "present irritated state of the colony". He continued:

You are aware from my private and Public letters of the irritation which the Slave Ordinance has created here in the minds of the inhabitants generally and you are likewise in possession of my opinion upon the late schedule of reduction & of the probable effects in the colony & my despatches which go home by this opportunity will inform you of the state of excitement and dissatisfaction which exist among the Boors in the Eastern Frontier and the causes thereof- Altho' far from apprehending any very serious disturbance to result therefrom, at the same time with a knowledge of the revolutionary feelings which exist every where at home and abroad, It would be presumption in me to assert that that none can be apprehended more particularly as I cannot hope from past experience much less expect that any representation of mine relating to the Slave Question will be attended to at home, however impossible it is to enforce many of the enactments of that Ordinance in this Colony. - I do not flatter myself that by remaining here I may prevent the existing discontent from breaking out into open acts of violence if a desire to do so exists.¹⁰

Apparently it was Sir Lowry's belief in doing what he thought correct that compelled him to remain at the Cape. He admitted that he felt greatly disappointed to

face another year at the Cape. Although no letters survive from Lady Frances or from Lisinka, his decision also must have been a profound disappointment to them. Sir Lowry admitted that he gave his family the fair pretext that the severe outbreak of cholera in England delayed their return.

The subject of slavery still dominated Cape life in the Spring of 1832. Although the local population had known about the Order-in-Council for four months, it was popularly believed that it threatened "peace and security" and, therefore, would not apply to the colony (Botha 87). When, in August, the Order-in-Council was formally proclaimed, it "led to a request by seventy-two slave-holders to convene a meeting at which the measures would be discussed" (Botha 88). This meeting was held on 17 September 1832.

The 17 September was a stormy day both literally and figuratively. The meeting of the slave-holding community to debate the new Slave Ordinance developed into a march to Government House for the presentation of their resolutions.¹¹ Botha describes the situation that day:

Nearly 2000 residents assembled in Cape Town ... one of the largest groups ever to gather in the town. Besides the publicity afforded the occasion by De Zuid-Afrikaan, Fairbairn himself publicised the proceedings of the meeting and the resolutions passed ... The fifteen resolutions were mainly proposed and seconded by the Afrikaans-speaking slave-holders. (Botha 88)

The spokesman elected for the group of slave-holders was Mr Henry Cloete. Although Sir Lowry Cole was "unhappy with some of the regulations", and "discussed their objections in order to reassure them and dispel their doubts", he refused to acknowledge the committee because it represented an extension of the purpose for which application had been made initially to convene the meeting (Botha 88). It was, as Botha describes it, "an untenable position" (88) and one which made Cole's residence at the Cape more uncomfortable. He did not relish the task of following British orders to ameliorate the conditions under which slaves were employed, on the one side, and of

addressing the problems of the slave-owners on the other side. By the time that slavery was officially abolished at the Cape of Good Hope, however, Sir Lowry Cole had returned to England.

Discussions concerning the amelioration of slavery both in Mauritius and at the Cape were superseded by the arrival of the news that the Reform Bill had been passed in England. By this the voting rights of the electorate were extended to include the industrial classes and democracy was ushered in amidst fears that there would ensue redistribution of wealth and the dissolution of the monarchy.

No doubt Lisinka would have listened with great interest to these items of news from overseas being discussed amongst the menfolk at the luncheons and dinners at the Governor's residence. Lisinka and Lady Frances Cole would have discussed these matters together also.

Another change being discussed about this time was that of the Regiments. The 75th Regiment (Gordon Highlanders) was preparing to journey to the Frontier to relieve the 98th Regiment. The latter regiment was returning to the Cape garrison.

The arrival from England of the Right Reverend Daniel Wilson, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, on board the James Sibbald, also would have occasioned much discussion. Lady Frances Cole was less impressed with his preaching than she had expected. During the Bishop's eleven day stay at the Cape, both Mr Edward Judge and Mr H.G. Pauncefote Cooke were received into full Orders as Priests of the Church of England. However, it was believed that the Cape colony required a bishop independent of the Calcutta diocese:

The Episcopal Church of England, next to that of the Dutch reformed church, numbers the largest congregation as a community of Christian worshippers. At present this establishment is considered, as it regards its government, under the diocese of Calcutta; but the consecration and appointment of an independent bishop to be resident in the colony, is anxiously desired by all its well-wishers, as indispensably requisite for its perfect efficiency. (Chase 136-37)

Politics and religion were not the only topics of discussion in 1832. There were lighter moments of a sporting nature also. The grand Cricket Match was held belatedly in December to celebrate James Cole's eleventh birthday. This took place "near the Vineyard. Seats were placed under the Trees for the Spectators - and the Luncheon was arranged in two Tents" (26 Dec. 1832). All the neighbourhood was invited to attend this recreational event which was held within the area which today encompasses the famous Newlands Cricket Grounds.

Notes

- 1 Lady Frances Cole, journal, 4 July 1832, PRO 30/43/115.
- 2 Lord Malmesbury, letter to Lady Frances Cole, 22 Aug. 1818, PRO 30/43/5.
- 3 South African Commercial Advertiser 23 May 1832.
- 4 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 25 July 1832, PRO 30/43/97.
- 5 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 25 July 1832, PRO 30/43/97.
- 6 South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Aug. 1832.
- 7 South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Aug. 1832.
- 8 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 9 June 1831, PRO 30/43/97, pp. 59-61.
- 9 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lt-Gen. Sir Herbert Taylor, 9 June 1831, PRO 30/43/97, pp. 61-63.
- 10 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 11 Mar. 1832, PRO 30/43/97.
- 11 Lady Frances Cole, journal, 17 Sept. 1832, PRO 30/43/115.

KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Protea, the Lowry Coles' residence in the country outside Cape Town.

(attributed to Major George Longmore)

2. Drawing Room - Probably Government House,

Cape Town

Loose card in album

One of two ladies depicted is drawing.

(Lady Frances Cole's Sketchbook)

Africana Library - Johannesburg



Proctor



Acknowledgement
is gratefully given
to the Africana Museum, Johannesburg,
South Africa,
for permission to publish
the sketches reproduced on pages 282-83,
from Lady Frances Cole's Sketchbook.

1832

January 1st

Sunday

I was in my room the whole day. May the heavy chastisement of the Lord, be for my eternal happiness & welfare! One of my dearest earthly hopes, has been destroyed!¹

Monday 2d

The Wades and their children spent the day here. There were many morning visitors. Col. England dined at Protea.

Tuesday 3d

Captain Poole dined here.

Wednesday 4th

Many morning visitors called - amongst the rest Sir Peter Parker & Mr Clarke. Col. Munro dined here.

Thursday 5th

to Protea.

Every one went to Town in the morning.² Mr & Mrs Stoll came

Friday 6th³

The Bells came.

Saturday 7th⁴

The Stolls went away. Mr Oliphant came. Mr Clarke called - also the Prendergasts & Mrs Majoribanks⁵ - & Mrs Charles Saunders (from Mauritius).⁶

[P59]

Sunday 8th

George Harris went away.⁷ Mr Clarke came here.

¹ From a close reading of the material available, it appears that Lisinka was disappointed in her relationship with Mr Arthur Balfour.

² Lady Frances: "Went to Town with the Girls." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

³ Lady Frances: "Twelfth Night." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

⁴ Lady Frances: "The Commodore went to Simon's Bay & took leave of us previous to his final departure." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) i.e. Commodore Schomberg, of H.M.S. Maidstone.

⁵ i.e. Marjoribanks.

⁶ Mr Charles Saunders was a visitor from Mauritius. A family member, Mr W.S. Saunders, is listed in a Mauritius Gazette of 1828. (PRO 30/43/93)

⁷ Lady Frances: "Dear George left us & went to Simons Town before Church!" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

Monday 9th The Maidstone sailed for Rio.⁸ The Bells went away. Fanny & I went to pay them a visit.⁹ The Kekewich family, Mrs Bowles & Miss Bowles,¹⁰ Mrs Blotterman¹¹ & Mrs Rogers called - also Dr. Dyce.

Captain Hall, Mr Moultrie & Mr Baillie dined here. The Maidstone put back.

Tuesday 10th Mr Marshall (the Acting Chief Judge from Ceylon),¹² Sir John Wylde, Mr Menzies, Captn. Halifax and Major Molesworth dined here. Mrs Brink called.

Wednesday 11th¹³ Mr Oliphant and Mr Clarke went away. Mr Graham, Mr Duthie, Mr Blake and Mr Charles Hare dined here.

Thursday 12th I spent the day in Town.¹⁴ Mr Alexander came. Mr Clarke dined and slept at Protea.

Friday 13th Fanny returned from Town.¹⁵ The Bells came. Sir Peter Parker dined here. Mr Graham went away in the evening.

Saturday 14th Mr Rogerson came.

Sunday 15th Fanny went to Town to attend the School.¹⁶

Monday 16th Mr Rogerson went away - also the Bells. Florence went with them - Mr & Mrs Hawkins called. Miss Blair came.

8 The Maidstone sailed early in the morning for Rio de Janeiro and England, under the command of Commodore Schomberg. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114; South African Commercial Advertiser 18 Jan. 1832; Gazette 13 Jan. 1832)

9 Lady Frances: "Came to Town to remain a few days with Cath." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

10 Mr T.H. Bowles, registrar of deeds, lived at no. 6 Grave Street, Cape Town. (Cape Almanack 1833)

11 Mrs Bletterman, a widow, lived at no. 3 Buitenkant street. (Cape Almanack 1833)

12 The Hon. C. Marshall was travelling on board the York which had sailed from Madras on 20 Oct. for the Cape and London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Jan. 1832)

13 Lady Frances: "Maidstone sailed finally early in the morning." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

14 Lady Frances: "Lisinka & the Girls came in as did Lowry - returned in the evening as did Jumbo with them." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

15 Lady Frances: "Fine clear morning - but very hot - I remained with Catherine till the afternoon & then returned to Protea." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

16 Lady Francis "went to Town to arrange the School upon the new footing of Upper & Lower." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Tuesday 17th Major Cloete dined & slept at Protea. Mr Baillie & Mr Ross dined here.
- Wednesday 18th A family party at dinner.
- Thursday 19th The Govr. &c went to Town.¹⁷ Captn. Harvey came.¹⁸ Mr Bayley, Captn. Poole, Mr Sutton & Mr Tyson dined here. The weather very hot.
- Friday 20th The Wades & Mrs Blair dined here.
- Saturday 21st The Bells came & Arthur Balfour. Captn. & Mrs Stockenstrom, Mr & Mrs Maasdorp & two Miss Maasdorps dined here.
- Sunday 22nd The weather rather cooler.
- Monday 23rd Miss Blair went away. Major Hall, Dr. Burrow and his Son, & Mr Clarke came.
- Tuesday 24th I dined at Col. Wade's. Mr Clarke Burton dined & slept at Protea.
- Wednesday 25th Major Hall went away. Mr Clarke dined & slept at Protea.
- Thursday 26th Dr Burrow and his Son went away. Alfred Harris joined his Regiment.¹⁹ Mr MacKenzie, of the 98th came.
- Friday 27th Mr Duthie came to breakfast. Mr MacKenzie went away. Mr Halliday dined here.²⁰
- Saturday 28th The Bells, Mr John Brink, Mr Baillie and Mr Arthur Balfour came.

¹⁷ Lady Frances: "Went to Town with the Girls." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

¹⁸ Captain Edward Harvey commanded the H.M.S. Undaunted (42 guns) which was part of the Naval Fleet at the Cape of Good Hope. (Cape Almanack 1833)

¹⁹ Ensign Alfred Harris of H.M. 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1832)

²⁰ Ensign W.R. Halliday of H.M. 75th Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1832)

- Sunday 29th Mr Hamilton dined here.
- Monday 30th I spent the morning in Town.²¹ Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, & Mr & Mrs Deas Thomson came.
- Tuesday 31st The Thomsons went away. Mr Oliphant [P60] & Dr Dyce came. Mr & Mrs & Miss Chiappini dined at Protea.²²
- February
Wednesday 1st Sir Peter Parker and Mr Clifford came.²³
- Thursday 2nd Major Cloete, Captain Halifax & Capt. Hall dined here.
- Friday 3d Major Griffiths (Bombay Service)²⁴ & Mr Tyson dined here.
- Saturday 4th Capt. & Mrs Bance dined here. Mr Oliphant, Mr Clarke, the Bells, Alfred & Arthur Balfour came.
- Sunday 5th The Lavinia came from England²⁵ & brought a Mail.²⁶
- Monday 6th I went to Town to settle the Bazaar²⁷ and the School accounts,²⁸ and did not return.²⁹

21 Lady Frances: "Lisinka went to Town with Lowry to receive the Bazaar things." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

22 Mr Antonio Baldazar Melchior Casper Chiappini (1777-1860), an Italian painter who had been commissioned to decorate the ceiling of Government House in Calcutta, had settled at the Cape after 1797, where he began a trading business - A. Chiappini & Co. He owned the farm De Hoek and, in 1804, had married Johanna Magdalena Heugh. They had three daughters and five sons. (Krüger 5:120)

23 Lady Frances: "young Clifford" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

24 Major Griffiths, of the Bombay Service, had arrived from Bombay and Goa on board the Lord Amherst, on his way to London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 1 Feb. 1832)

25 The brig Lavinia had sailed from the Downs on 26 Nov. for Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 8 Feb. 1832)

26 Lady Frances "went in to the School - for my own turn - Returned before the evening School with a Large Mail from England by the Lavinia." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

27 The Bazaar was held in Town on the 9th February: "went off very well - producing upwards of £130." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

28 The 12th Feb. was Lisinka's Sunday at the School at Wynberg; the 14th was the Infant School Anniversary. It would have been the latter's accounts that Lisinka would have settled. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Tuesday 14th³⁰ Captain Hall & Mr Alexander dined & slept at Protea.
- Wednesday 15th The Governor & Mr Balfour³¹ went to Simon's Town.
The Governor returned to dinner.
- Thursday 16th I was ill in bed all day.³² Col. England, Major Hall, Captain Hall and Mr Bagley dined at Protea. Mr Balfour returned from Simon's Town.
- Friday 17th Dr. Dyce called. We heard of poor Mr Goodison's death which happened about twelve Thursday night.³³
- Saturday 18th Col. Bell and Catherine came - also Captain Blackwood of the Imogene,³⁴ and Captain Lambert of the Alligator.³⁵ Captain Hall & Mr Baillie dined here. The Governor &c went to Town to attend the funeral of Mr Goodison.

"On Tuesday the second Anniversary Meeting of the Infant School Society was held in the Commercial Room. His Excellency the Governor, Sir Lowry Cole, presided. There were present about 300 persons, among whom were Lady Frances Cole, Lady Catherine Bell, Mrs. Col. Smith, Mrs Col. Prendergast, and nearly 100 ladies of the first respectability.

The children of the Lower School, to the number of about 120, most of them neatly dressed, were introduced with order, and took their seats in the center of the room. - Almost by a glance from their able and zealous instructor, Mr Buchanan, the least approach to irregularity was checked." (South African Commercial Advertiser 18 Feb. 1832)

- 29 Lady Frances: "Lisinka went to stay with Catherine." She returned to Protea on the 14th Feb. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 30 Lady Frances: "Fine fresh day - Went into Town with the Girls to attend the Infant School Anniversary. Tiffed with Catherine - & brought Lisinka back." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 31 Lady Frances: "Lowry & Franco went to Simons Town." Mr Arthur Balfour had come to stay with the Coles as A.D.C. at Protea, the previous day. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 32 Lady Frances: "Lisinka taken very unwell in the night." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 33 The Rev. Benjamin Croft Goodison, M.A., Chaplain to the Forces at the Cape, died on Thursday evening 16th Feb., "after bearing with exemplary patience and resignation, a lingering illness of several months' duration. The proximate cause of the Rev. Gentleman's death was the rupture of a blood vessel." (South African Commercial Advertiser 18, 26 Feb. 1832; Gazette 9 Mar. 1832)
- 34 Captain Blackwood commanded the Imogene which had sailed from Portsmouth on 26 Nov., and Rio on 22 Jan., for India. She had put in for refreshments in Simon's Bay on 16 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 22 Feb. 1832)
- 35 Captain Lambert commanded the Alligator which had sailed from Portsmouth on 26 Nov., and Rio on 22 Jan., for India. She had put in for refreshments in Simon's Bay on 16 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 22 Feb. 1832)

- Sunday 19th³⁶ Captain Blackwood & Captain Lambert dined with Col. Wade. Major Hall went away. Charles Bell came.
- Monday 20th Captains Blackwood & Lambert went to Simon's Town.³⁷ Col. and Mrs Smith and Mr Fraser came. The Curlew came in.³⁸
- Tuesday 21st The Bells went away and took Willy with them. Capt. Harvey & Mr Keppall³⁹ came from Simon's Town bringing letters from Mauritius. Col. Fitzgerald came. Col. & Mrs Wade and Col. England dined here.
- Wednesday 22nd Mr Balfour's Birthday.⁴⁰ A very wet day. The same party at dinner with the exception of Col. England.
- Thursday 23rd⁴¹ Captain Harvey & Mr Keppall went to Town. Col. Fitzgerald & Mr Fraser went away.
- Friday 24th Major Griffiths, Mr Burroughs, & Mr Nepean⁴² and Mr Halliday dined here. Mrs Dyce was confined.⁴³
- Saturday 25th Captain Harvey & Mr Keppall breakfasted here in their way to Simon's Town. The Bells came.
- Sunday 26th

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- 36 Lady Frances: "Went to Church at Wynberg - where Mr Judge preached a very excellent Funeral Service on poor Mr Goodison." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 37 Their respective ships, the H.M.S. Imogene and the H.M.S. Alligator sailed from Simon's Bay on 22 Feb. (Gazette 2 Mar. 1832)
- 38 The Curlew had sailed from Mauritius to Simon's Bay. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 39 Lt Hon. T.R Keppel was attached to the H.M.S. Undaunted based in Simon's Bay as part of the Naval Force. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 40 Lady Frances: "Franco's birthday - a holiday given to the Children - The little Wades dined with the Children - Col. & Mrs Wade with us." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 41 Lady Frances: "Rainy morning - One of the heaviest South Easters I ever remember, with Showers during the day - Went into Cape Town with the Girls - The wind so strong that I left Bee with her Aunt - & returned to Protea to dinner." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 42 Mr Nepean, B.C.S., was a visitor from India. (Gazette 2 July 1832) Lady Frances recorded: "Mr Nepean & Mr Burrough (E.I.C.)" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 43 Mrs Dyce, wife of Dr. Robert Dyce, bore a son, Lowry William Fredrick. (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 May 1832) They lived at no. 8 Grave Street, Cape Town. (Cape Almanack 1831)

- Monday 27th Mr Clarke and Mr Duthie dined here.
- Tuesday 28th The Bells went away. Monr. Rondeaux
and [P61] Monr. Maure (from Mauritius),⁴⁴ Mr Baillie & Mr Moultrie & Major
Molesworth dined here.
- Wednesday 29th Captn. Trotter came from Simon's Town.⁴⁵ Captn. Hall
dined here.
- March
- Thursday 1st⁴⁶ Col. Fitzgerald dined here.
- Friday 2nd My Birthday was kept. The Bells & Alfred came & Dr. Dyce -
and the Wades dined here.
- Saturday 3d Dr. Dyce went away. Mrs Oliphant called. Sir Robert & Lady
Colquhoun⁴⁷ dined at Protea; Mr Baillie came.
- Sunday 4th I went to pay some parting visits with Miss Mylius. Mr Clarke
dined here.
- Monday 5th I went with Miss Mylius to Cape Town.⁴⁸ She embarked about
five o'clock on board the Belle Alliance, accompanied by the Nisbets &
Pennells.
- Tuesday 6th Mr & Mrs Mackay called. The Belle Alliance sailed at 6 o'clock
this morning with a fair wind.⁴⁹

44 Mr Rondeaux and Mr Maure were passengers on board the Royal George which had sailed from Mauritius on 29 Jan. for Table Bay and London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Feb. 1832)

45 Captain H.D. Trotter commanded the H.M.S. Curlew which had arrived in Simon's Bay from Mauritius on 20 Feb. (Cape Almanack 1833)

46 Lisinka's birthday. Lady Frances: "A very warm day - Went to Town with the Girls - Miss Mylius took her passage in the Belle Alliance." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

47 Sir Robert Colquhoun, Lady Colquhoun, and their four children had arrived on 31 Jan. They were passengers on board the Duke of Lancaster which had sailed from Calcutta on 16 Dec. for the Cape and Liverpool. (Gazette 3 Feb. 1832)

48 Lady Frances: "Lisha went to Town with her & returned in the evening." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

49 Her destination was London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 Mar. 1832)

Wednesday 7th The Wades and Mr Alexander dined here. Mr Clifford and Mr Winthorpe came.⁵⁰

Thursday 8th I went into Town with Florence & Louisa. Captain Hall dined here & slept.

Friday 9th Captain Hall remained at Protea.⁵¹

Saturday 10th Miss Walker came; and the Bells. The Wades dined here. The Curaçoa came in.⁵²

Sunday 11th Captain Dunn came to Protea.⁵³ Catherine was taken ill.⁵⁴

Monday 12th Mr Fraser came. The Wades dined here.

Tuesday 13th Captain Dunn went away;⁵⁵ and the Smiths and Miss Walker. Catherine came into the Drawing room. Fanny drove into Town.

Wednesday 14th Major Hall, called to take leave.⁵⁶ Col. Wade dined at Protea.

Thursday 15th Franco left us! It was a most melancholy day, morally & physically; he embarked about one o'clock and sailed at three.⁵⁷

50 They were crewmembers on board the H.M.S. Undaunted. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

51 Captain Hall left Protea the following day. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

52 The H.M.S. Curacao (24 guns) had sailed from Portsmouth on 7 Jan. for India. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Mar. 1832)

53 Captain Dunn, commander of the H.M.S. Curacao, brought news from England "up to the 7th Jany. - & a Report of the Duke of Wellington's death." (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Mar. 1832; Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

54 Lady Frances: "Dr Murray came to her." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

55 i.e. Captain Dunn left Protea. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

56 Lady Frances: "Franco's last day - Major Hall & Mr Scott came to take leave." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

57 Lady Frances: "Very heavy rain ... continued the whole day with little intermission. Dear Franco took leave of us immediately after breakfast, embarked at noon ... and sailed at 3pm for England!" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

 Mr Balfour sailed on board the Duke of Buccleugh, which had arrived in Table Bay from Calcutta and Madras on 10 Mar., and on which he had booked his passage the same day. (journal, PRO 30/43/114; Cape Almanack 1833)

Friday 16th

Saturday 17th Captain Dunn came to celebrate St. Patrick's day. The Wades, Col. England, Captain Hall, Dr. Graham, and Mr Frith, dined here. Little Godfrey came.⁵⁸ Mr Clifford & Mr Winthorpe went away.

Sunday 18th A very tempestuous day & night.⁵⁹

Monday 19th Much rain⁶⁰ - however the Governor & Captain During went to Town. Alfred went away.⁶¹

Tuesday 20th Much rain.⁶² Captain Dunn went to dine with the 72d. Mr Keppall came.

Wednesday 21st Pouring rain again. Lord H. Russell & Mr Wigness (of the Curaçoa)⁶³ came. I was ill and in bed, the greatest part of the day.

Thursday 22nd Some rain in the morning, but a fine afternoon. Fanny &c &c went to Town.⁶⁴ I was in my room all day. Sir John Gore arrived, at Simon's Bay.⁶⁵

58 It is not known who little Godfrey was; Captain Dunn took him to Protea. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

59 A strong North West wind prevailed. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

60 "Shipping Intelligence : We have had rainy weather with gusts of wind. On Monday morning the 'Mascarenhas' (French bark from Bourbon) drove considerably and parted her chain cable; the 'Saucy Jack' (schooner) also parted a cable ... the weather has now moderated." (South African Commercial Advertiser 21 Mar. 1832) "We are sorry to learn that the grapes at and around Constantia have been extensively injured or destroyed by the late rains." (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Mar. 1832)

61 Ensign Alfred Harris joined his Regiment at the Barracks. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

62 Lady Frances: "It rained during these three days for 72 hours without interruption - a very unusual thing in this Climate at any season of the year, & almost unknown in the month of March!" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

63 Mr Wigness (or Wemyss), was midshipman of the H.M.S. Curaçao. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

64 Lady Frances: "went into Cape Town with the Children - A heavy shower caught us at Sans Souci & lasted fully for an hour. Capt. Dunn returned with us." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

65 Vice Admiral Sir John Gore, K.C.B., arrived in Simon's Bay on board the H.M.S. Melville (74 guns) from Portsmouth. The Melville was en route to Trincomalee. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Mar. 1832)

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Friday 23rd Fanny & Florence heard from George &c Captain Pepper (of the H.C. Ship, Coote)⁶⁶ dined here also Captains Hall, Bance & Alexander - and Major Griffiths. Captain Dunn went to Simon's Town.⁶⁷

Saturday 24th The Midshipmen went away.⁶⁸ I heard from England. Mr Clarke and Mr Graham dined here. I went into the Drawing room for a little while in the evening.

Sunday 25th A rainy & stormy day.

Monday 26th A very rainy day. Sir John Gore, Captn. Hart⁶⁹ & Mr Crawford⁷⁰ came.

Tuesday 27th A rainy day. The Governor & all the Gentlemen went to Town.⁷¹ The Bells came. Captain Dunn came unexpectedly from Simon's Town. Col. Wade, Col. England & Sir George Walker dined at Protea.

Wednesday 28th Captain Dunn went away.⁷² Captain Hart & Mr Crawford returned to Simon's Town. Col. & Mrs Kennedy called.⁷³ Captain Shepherd, Mr Gore, Mr Kennedy (all of the Melville)⁷⁴ came. The Smiths, the Wades and Sir George and Miss Walker dined at Protea.

66 Captain J. Pepper commanded the H.C. Sloop of War Coote (20 guns), which had sailed from Torbay on 29 Jan. for Table Bay and China. Despatches for the Governor were carried. (Gazette 23 Mar. 1832)

67 Captain Dunn went with Arthur Balfour to meet the Vice-Admiral, Sir John Gore. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

68 Evidently three midshipmen from the Curacao had been staying at Protea. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

69 Captain Hart commanded the H.M.S. Melville which had arrived in Simon's Bay on 22 Mar. (Cape Almanack 1833)

70 Dr Crawford, Surgeon, had arrived in Table Bay on board the Lady Raffles, from Bombay and Goa, on 27 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Feb. 1832)

71 Lady Frances: "Lowry went to Town with the Admiral." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

72 The H.M.S. Curacao sailed from Simon's Bay for India on 30 Mar., under Captain Dunn's command. (Cape Almanack 1833; South African Commercial Advertiser 4 Apr. 1832)

73 Lt-Col. Kennedy, his wife and son, had arrived in Table Bay on board the St George from Calcutta on 26 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Feb. 1832)

74 The H.M.S. Melville had arrived in Simon's Bay on 22 Mar. and sailed for Trincomalee on 5 Apr. (Cape Almanack 1833)

Thursday 29th A fine day. All but the Admiral and Fanny, went to Cape Town. The Bells went away. Captain Trotter came. Col. Munro and Captain Hall dined here. I dined below for the first time. Little Disbrowe came.

Friday 30th The Curaçoa sailed.⁷⁵ Dr. Sibbald (from Ceylon)⁷⁶ Mr Majoribanks from China,⁷⁷ and Captain Locke of the Duke of York,⁷⁸ called here. We heard of Eliza Blackburn's marriage.⁷⁹ Captain Shepherd and Mr Gore went away. Mr Brown, of the Melville, called. The Menzies and Col. England dined here.

Saturday 31st The Admiral &c &c went away. Mr Cartwright called; & Mrs & Miss Prendergast. The Bells came. The Wades dined here. Seventeen days of Rain in this month.

April

Sunday 1st The Walkers called to take leave.⁸⁰ Rain in the evening.

Monday 2nd The Bells went away. Mr Majoribanks & Mr Nisbet called.

Tuesday 3rd Captain & Mrs Hine and Miss Petrie called.⁸¹ Mr Henderson (the Astronomer Royal)⁸² and Mr Watt dined here.

⁷⁵ The H.M.S. Curacao sailed from Simon's Bay for India under the command of Captain Dunn. (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 Apr. 1832)

⁷⁶ Dr Sibbald was a passenger on board the Symmetry which had sailed from Columbo on 3 Feb. for London, and put into Table Bay on 29 Mar. for refreshments. (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Mar. 1832)

⁷⁷ Mr Marjoribanks was a passenger on board the H.C.S. Duke of York which had sailed from Canton on 19 Jan. for Table Bay, where she had anchored on 28 Mar. (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Mar. 1832)

⁷⁸ Captain R. Locke commanded the H.C.S. Duke of York which was en route from Canton to London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 31 Mar. 1832)

⁷⁹ Miss Eliza Blackburn was one of the daughters of the chief Justice of Mauritius. The large family had arrived in Port Louis in August 1824 and, within two years two more children had been born. (PRO 30/43/32)

⁸⁰ Sir George Walker and his family, having arrived at the Cape on board the Success on 17 Sept. 1831, had now taken their passage on board the H.C.S. Duke of York, which would sail for London on 8 Apr. (Cape Almanack 1833)

⁸¹ Captain J. Hine, commanded the H.C.S. Marquis of Huntly which had sailed from China on 18 Jan. for Table Bay and London, with a cargo of teas. Mrs Hine, and Miss Petrie were the sole passengers. (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 Apr. 1832)

⁸² Mr Thomas Henderson (1798-1844), Royal Astronomer for the Cape, had arrived at Simon's Town on board the Melville from Portsmouth on 22 Mar. (South African

- Wednesday 4th The Smiths spent the morning here. Mr & Mrs Cartwright called.
- Thursday 5th I went to Cape Town.⁸³ The Hares, the Careys, Sir Robert & Lady Colquhoun, Captain Poole & some other gentlemen dined at Protea. Sir George Walker & Miss Walker, the Smiths, Captain & Mrs Hine & Miss Petrie and Mr Burgoyne⁸⁴ dined at Col. Bell's.
- Friday 6th The Wades, Mr Clarke & Major Cloete dined at Protea.
- Saturday 7th The Bells went to Protea to meet the [P63] Hines &c.⁸⁵
- Sunday 8th I returned to Protea.⁸⁶
- Monday 9th Fanny's Birthday - A large juvenile party assembled for the occasion, besides a numerous grown up, one - consisting of the Bells, the Smiths, the Wades, the Murrays, Dr. Dyce, Captain Harvey, Mr Harvey,⁸⁷ Mr Keppall & Mr Baillie.
- Tuesday 10th Mr Charles Bagley came to breakfast. All the Guests, except the Naval Gentlemen went away. Sir Charles & Lady Doyly, called.⁸⁸
- Wednesday 11th Dr Burrows & his Son came to Protea. The Misses Burrows and Miss Benjafield called.⁸⁹ Captain Boyce dined here.

Commercial Advertiser 28 Mar. 1832) He was the successor of the Rev. Fearon Fallows. (Warner 31-36)

- 83 Lady Frances: "hot in Town - Went with the Children - Lisinka remained with Catherine." Lisinka remained in Town until the 8th. (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 84 Lt Burgoyne had arrived at the Cape on board the York on 7 Jan. from Madras. (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Jan. 1832)
- 85 i.e. Capt. & Mrs Hine, and Miss Petrie. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 86 Lady Frances: "Went to Church at Wynberg - Lisinka's Sunday at the School. She returned in the afternoon bringing the little Murrays - Duke of York sailed." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 87 Lady Frances: "Capt Harvey's Son" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 88 Sir Charles D'Oyley and Lady D'Oyley had arrived at the Cape on board the Thalia which had sailed from Calcutta on 3 Feb. (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 Apr. 1832)
- 89 Master J. Burrow, Miss F. Burrows, Miss C. Burrows, and Miss Benjafield, had arrived at the Cape on board the Duke of Bedford, from Portsmouth, on 3 Oct. 1831. (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 Oct. 1831)

- Thursday 12th Florence, Louisa and myself, went to Cape Town,⁹⁰ to go with Catherine to the Concert given by Mrs Okes.⁹¹ The young Ladies performed very well - and their dancing afterwards, was remarkably pretty.
- Friday 13th We returned to Protea. The Prendergast family and the Wades had their Tiffin with us. The morning visitors were innumerable.
- Saturday 14th The Miss Burrows & Miss Benjafield spent the day at Protea - the whole family went away in the evening. Captn. & Mrs Hine and Miss Petrie called. Major & Mrs Rogers dined here. The Bells came.
- Sunday 15th A very boisterous & rainy day.⁹² Captain and Mrs Hine and Miss Petrie came to dinner.
- Monday 16th Captain Hall dined & slept at Protea.
- Tuesday 17th Col. & Mrs Wade, Col. England & Captn. Halifax dined here.
- Wednesday 18th Col. Kennedy, Mr & Mrs Cartwright, Mr Burroughs, and Mr Moultrie dined here.
- Thursday 19th Mr & Mrs Cartwright went away. Mr Clarke dined here.
- Friday 20th The Bells came. Good Friday.
- Saturday 21st Mr Bayley came.⁹³ The Wades dined here. The Margaret from Mauritius came in bringing letters, & Col. Ferris and Mr Barry.⁹⁴
- Sunday 22nd⁹⁵

- 90 Lady Frances: "Lisinka went in with the Girls to Town for their Masters & remained to go to Mrs Oke's party." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 91 The Rev. Holt Okes D.D., ran the Classical Academy at Grove house in Roeland street; Mrs Okes and the Misses Okes ran a seminary for young ladies. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 92 Lady Frances: "High wind from the NW came in soon after midnight - Hard rain from 8 o'clock till the afternoon - Arthur Balfour read Prayers at home." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 93 Lady Frances: "Mr Charles Bayley." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 94 The Margaret had sailed from Mauritius on 20 Mar. for Table Bay and London, with a cargo of sugar. Colonel Ferris and Mr Barry were listed as passengers. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Apr. 1832)
- 95 Lady Frances: "Easter Sunday - Fine morning - Rain in the afternoon - Went to Church at Wynberg - Sacraments administered by Mr Judge & Dr Okes - Mrs H. Cloete's Sunday at the School." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Monday 23rd Col. Ferris & Mr Barry dined here. Mr Clifford came.
- Tuesday 24th We all went to Town for the Races.⁹⁶ The sport was very good -
and the weather beautiful the first day - but rainy and cold ...
- Mrs Bird died. of Leisbeek.⁹⁷
- Wednesday 25th ... the second. Each day we dined at the Bells with only a
family party the first day - and Mrs Wade, Mrs Smith & Mr Charles Bayley on
the second day. Col. Wade gave a dinner at the Mess, chiefly to the sporting
characters.
- Thursday 26th We returned to Protea - a cold & rainy day.
- Friday 27th Cold & rainy. Captain Trotter came from Simon's Town &
brought word that the Admiral⁹⁸ arrived on Wednesday.
- Saturday 28th Mr Clifford went away.
- Sunday 29th The Smiths came.
- Monday 30th Captain Trotter went away.⁹⁹ Mr Bayley¹⁰⁰ came & Mr Keppall.

[P64]
May

⁹⁶ The Races were held on that day, Wednesday, and Saturday. "The Autumn Meeting of the S.A. Turf Club terminated on Saturday, when one of those beautiful Autumn days, known only in such climates as ours, brought together a great concourse of people, who enjoyed the amusements of the day to a late hour, with all the good humour and spirit characteristic of them.

We had, however, to regret the absence of His Excellency the Governor and his family - a slight indisposition having prevented his presence as it had done his attending the Turf Club Dinner the day before." (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 May 1832)

⁹⁷ Mrs Johanna Christina Bird, wife of C. Bird, former Secretary to the Government, died at the age of fifty. (South African Commercial Advertiser 28 Apr. 1832)

⁹⁸ i.e. Rear-Admiral Frederick Warren. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114) He, with his family, had arrived in Simon's Town on board the H.M.S. Isis on 26 Apr. from Spithead. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Mar.; 2 May 1832; Gazette 4 May 1832)

⁹⁹ Captain Trotter commanded the H.M.S. Curlew which sailed from Simon's Bay on a cruise on 9 May. (Cape Almanack 1833)

¹⁰⁰ Lady Frances: "Mr Charles Bayley." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

- Tuesday 1st His Excellency's Birthday¹⁰¹ - which was kept with the usual festivity - a large party of young people dined here¹⁰² - and a more numerous one assembled for the evening dance. The grown up guests in the House, were the Smiths, the Bells and Mr Charles Bagley. All the neighbourhood were invited for the evening & a few Gentlemen from Cape Town.
- Wednesday 2nd Admiral & Mrs Warren, Capt. Polkinghorne¹⁰³ and Captain Harvey spent the morning here, also Mrs Henry Cloete.
- Thursday 3rd We all went into Town¹⁰⁴ to attend the Christening of Dr. Dyce's child - he was named Lowry William Fredrick.¹⁰⁵
Major Cunningham¹⁰⁶ & Col. England dined at Protea. We heard of Mr Wishe's death.
- Friday 4th Captain Lindsay (from Madras)¹⁰⁷ & Captain Blair¹⁰⁸ dined with us.
- Saturday 5th The Bells came. Mrs Hough & some of her Children spent the day with us.
- Sunday 6th
- Monday 7th The Bells went away. A very rainy day. Capt. Polkinghorne, Lieuts. Puget, Warren & Ayr¹⁰⁹ & Mr Reed, all of the Isis, dined and slept at Protea - also Mr Dickinson.

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- 101 It was Sir Lowry's fifty-ninth birthday. (Cole and Gwynn)
- 102 Lady Frances: "Netty made her little speech with great feeling." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 103 Captain James Polkinghorne commanded the H.M.S. Isis which had sailed into Simon's Bay on 26 Apr. with Admiral Warren and his family. (South African Commercial Advertiser 2 May 1832; Gazette 4 May 1832; Cape Almanack 1833)
- 104 Lady Frances: "Went there with the Girls for Masters & also for the Christening of Dr. Dyce's Baby." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 105 Lady Frances: "Lowry giving his name to it." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 106 Col. Cunningham had arrived on board the Warspite on 23 Oct. 1831, from Mauritius. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Oct. 1831)
- 107 Mr Lindsay, M.S., had arrived on board the Duke of Northumberland on 1 Apr. from Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 Apr. 1832; Gazette 2 July 1832)
- 108 Captain Thomas A. Blair, of H.M. 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 109 Lieutenants W.D. Puget and G.S. Airey of H.M.S. Isis. (Cape Almanack 1833)

- Tuesday 8th Rather rainy & windy. All the Gentlemen¹¹⁰ excepting Captain Polkinghorne went away. Mrs Wade dined here.
- Wednesday 9th Captain Polkinghorne went to Cape Town.¹¹¹
- Thursday 10th Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete came. Col. & Mrs Monteith, Captain Storey & Mr Wittingham, all passengers in the Catherine dined here.¹¹²
- Friday 11th Mr Wittingham spent the day here.
- Saturday 12th The Bells came. The Wades, & Col. England & Major & Mrs Michell dined here. Captain Polkinghorne returned. Mr Clarke & Mr Reid dined & slept here.
- Sunday 13th Captain Polkinghorne went away.
- Monday 14th The Bells, the Cloetes, Mr Clarke and Mr Reid went away.¹¹³
Captain Alexander dined here.
- Tuesday 15th Rain.¹¹⁴
- Wednesday 16th The Smiths, the Wades, Col. England, Dr. Graham & Mr Watt dined here.¹¹⁵

110 Lady Frances: "Naval Men" (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

111 The St Helena arrived in Table Bay that evening, having left the Downs on 6 Mar. with the gratifying news that "Table Bay - and we suppose evry other Bay in the Colony - is declared a Free Port, open to the Vessels of every Nation at peace with Great Britain." (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 May 1832)

112 The bark Catherine had arrived in Table Bay on 8 May from London and Portsmouth. Lt-Col. Monteath, Mrs Monteith, Captain Story, and Mr Wittingham, were listed as passengers for India. (Gazette 11 May 1832)

113 Mr Charles Bell remained at Protea. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114)

114 Lady Frances: "Stormy morning ... No Guests except Chas. Bell." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

115 The dinner was in celebration of the Battle of Albuera. General Sir Lowry Cole had commanded the Division in the Peninsula Wars; Wellington had ordered Cole to reinforce Marshal Beresford just as he was about to commence operations near the Albuera River. In the ensuing battle on 16 May, the decisive actions of General Cole, acting without orders, sent his two Divisions into the Battle and, in so doing, "saved the day", although he and most of his officers were wounded. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/114; Cole and Gwynn, ch. 5)

- Thursday 17th The Smiths went away. I went to Town with the Children, & brought back Charles Bell. Mr Dreyer's trial came on.¹¹⁶
- Friday 18th Mrs Wade dined here.
- Saturday 19th The Bells came. Major & Mrs Michell & Col. & Mrs Wade dined here. Mr Dreyer's Trial concluded.¹¹⁷
- Sunday 20th Mr Clarke came.
- Monday 21st The Bells & Mr Clarke went away. Major Fraser came. Capt. Alexander dined here. The Harrier Brig of War arrived from England which she left the 21st of March.¹¹⁸
- Tuesday 22nd The Isis sailed for Mauritius.¹¹⁹
- [P65]
Wednesday 23rd Captain Trotter dined & slept here.
- Thursday 24th All the Family in Town. I walked to Sans Souci. The Girls remained with Catherine.¹²⁰
- Friday 25th We heard from Miss Mylius & Franco - the former reached St. Helena on the 29th, the latter on the 29th.¹²¹ Mr & Mrs Crozier, Major Cloete, Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete (of the Bridge)¹²² & Mr Brink dined here. A bad day.¹²³

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- 116 The proceedings in the Supreme Court in the case of Rex v. Dreyer were followed with deep interest. (South African Commercial Advertiser 23, 26, 30 May 1832)
- 117 A verdict of "Not Guilty" was reached. (South African Commercial Advertiser 23, 30 May 1832)
- 118 The H.M.S. Harrier arrived in Simon's Bay after a passage of exactly two months duration. (South African Commercial Advertiser 23 May 1832)
- 119 The H.M.S. Isis sailed out of Simon's Bay for Mauritius under the command of Captain Polkinghorne. (South African Commercial Advertiser 26 May 1832)
- 120 Lady Frances: "Cloudy in the morning but bright & hot in Town - Went there with Florence & Louisa & the little Girls for Masters & left the former with their Aunt - returned to Protea with the little ones in the afternoon." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)
- 121 The Mexican arrived in Table Bay from St. Helena and brought the mail. Franco had sailed on board the Duke of Buccleugh on 15 Mar.; Miss Mylius had sailed on board the Belle Alliance on 6 Mar. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 122 Both women's journals refer to The Bridge. It may refer to the residence or it may signify an earlier dispute over the building of the bridge on their property.
- 123 It seems it was a bad day because of having received a letter from Franco - Francis Balfour.

- Saturday 26th A rainy day. Captn. Trotter dined & slept at Protea; also Mr Oliphant. Mr Menzies dined at Protea.
- Sunday 27th A bad day - we did not go to Church.¹²⁴
- Monday 28th We all removed to Town¹²⁵ & dined at the Bell's.
- Govt. House. Cape Town
- Tuesday 29th Catherine's Birthday - we all dined with her. The Smiths & Mr Payne came in the evening. The Murrays dined there.
- Wednesday 30th¹²⁶ Mr Moultrie & Alfred Harris dined here.
- Thursday 31st The Bells, the Wades, Miss Saunders, Major Fraser and Captain Le Marchant dined here.
- June
- Friday 1st Col. Kennedy, Mr Burroughs, Captain England, Mr Nepear,¹²⁷ & Mr Jardine dined here.
- Saturday 2d The Smiths and Mr Clarke dined here and Captain Alexander. I was confined to my room by a cold.
- Sunday 3d¹²⁸ A Family party at dinner, including Alfred Harris.
- Monday 4th Florence's Birthday¹²⁹ was celebrated by a large dinner & a little dance. I was still in my room.
- Tuesday 5th Captain Bance dined here.
- Wednesday 6th¹³⁰ Col. England & Major Fraser came to dinner.

124 Lady Frances: "Arthur Balfour read Prayers at home." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

125 Lady Frances: "Left Protea for Cape Town." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

126 Lady Frances: "Fine day - Drove to Protea." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

127 Mr Nepear, B.C.S. (Gazette 2 July 1832)

128 Lady Frances: "Lisinka's day at the School - I took it for her." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

129 Lady Frances: "Florence's 16th Birthday." (journal, PRO 30/43/114)

130 Lady Francis Cole records the fact: "Went for the 1st time with the Girls to Mrs Oke's." (journal, PRO 30/43/114) Mrs and the Misses Okes ran a seminary for young ladies at Grove House in Roeland street. (Cape Almanack 1832)

- Thursday 7th The Bells and the Stolls dined here; also Captain Halifax, Mr Sutton & Mr Raymond.
- Friday 8th Sir Charles and Lady Doyley, Miss McLeod,¹³¹ Col. & Mrs Smith, Major Fraser, Mr Burroughs, Mr Baillie, Charles Bell dined here.
- Saturday 9th Mrs Dyce and Mr Clarke dined here. I went down in the evening.
- Sunday 10th A Family party at dinner.
- Monday 11th Admiral & Mrs Warren and Miss Warren came. The Smiths, Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, Mr Menzies, Col. Bell, Charles Bell, Col. England, Capt. England dined at Government House. I was too unwell to leave my room.
- Tuesday 12th Mr & Mrs Stoll, Mr & Mrs Thomson, Dr. & Mrs Murray, Captain Trotter, Col. Munro, Captain Bance, Major Fraser & Mr Petrie dined at Government House.
- I came down.
- Wednesday 13th The Bells, the Wades, Miss Saunders, Capt. Keates, Major Hammond, Captain Alexander, Sir John Wylde, Mr Kekewich dined here.
- Thursday 14th The Bells, Mr & Mrs Blair, Dr. & Mrs Dyce, Baron Lorentz, Major Michell, Mr Hamilton, Captain Halifax, Captain Ogle, dined here. There was a small party in the evening, and the 72d Band.
- Friday 15th The Guests & their Excellencies dined with the Bells, the Gentlemen went in the evening. There was a small Quadrille party. I did not go.
- Saturday 16th The Warrens went away. Mr Charles Bagley [P66] Mr Cartwright & Captain Fitzgerald dined here.
- Sunday 17th A Family party at dinner.
- Monday 18th The Bells, Judge Burton & Mrs Burton, Mr Clarke Burton & Dr. Burrow dined here.
- Tuesday 19th Col. & Mrs Smith, Col. England, Capt. England, Mr Baillie & Mr Burgoyne dined here.
- Wednesday 20th Mr Clarke, Dr. & Mrs Dyce, & Mr Sutton dined here.

¹³¹ Mr W. McCleod was the Assistant Port Captain. (Cape Almanack 1831)

- Thursday 21st I went to Camp's Bay in Mrs Oliphant's carriage, attended by Mr Clarke. I remained there a week, during which time there was a very gay wedding in the house. Mr Hamilton, Captn. Alexander, & Mr Clarke were the Guests during the time I remained there.
- Thursday 28th I returned¹³² in time for the first Grand dinner consisting of, Sir Robert and Lady Colquhoun, Sir Charles and Lady Doyley, Miss McLeod, Doctor & Mrs Nicholson,¹³³ the Bells, & Mr Charles Bagley, the Wades, & Col. Kennedy.
- Friday 29th The 72d Regt. gave a Ball at the Barracks which was attended by about 150 Persons & went off with much spirit.
- Saturday 30th The Governor inspected the 75th Regiment previous to its going to the Frontier - we all went to see it, in spite of the day being cold & showery. The Review took place on the Parade.
- Captain Alexander called to take leave previous to going to England.¹³⁴
Col. England dined with us for the last time previous to going to the Frontier.¹³⁵
The other Guests were, The Smiths, the Wades, the Bells, Captns. England & Halifax, & Mr Baillie. The Boys went to the Play with Charles Bell. The Eliza Jane came in from England.¹³⁶

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- 132 Lady Frances: "A very fine day. Louisa rode to Camp's Bay. Lisinka returned from thence." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 133 Dr Nicholson, B.M.S. & his wife, were visitors from India. (Gazette 2 July 1832)
- 134 Captain Alexander of the Royal Engineers was leaving the Colony. (South African Commercial Advertiser 30 June 1832)
- 135 Col. Richard England of the 75th Regiment, would take an active part in the Frontier War of Mar. 1835. (Cape Almanack 1833; Brinton 47-49)
- 136 The Eliza Jane had sailed from the Downs on 17 Apr. for Table Bay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 July 1832)

July

Sunday 1st¹ Charles Bell, & Mr John Burrows, dined here.

Monday 2d² Dr. Murray, Major Hammond, Captain Hall, Mr Clarke & Mr Williams of the Engineers³ dined here; also Alfred Harris.

Tuesday 3rd A Tempestuous & rainy day.⁴ The first Soirée⁵ which was but very thinly attended.⁶ The 72d Band played as well as usual, & the singing was excellent.

Wednesday 4th A Family party at dinner.

Thursday 5th The second grand Dinner - The Governor was too unwell with the rheumatism to make his appearance. The Guests were - The Bells, Captain & Mrs Stockenstrom, Col. & Mrs Munro, Major & Mrs Hammond, Sir John

¹ Lady Frances: "Went to the Lutheran Church for the Anniversary of the Augsburg Confession - Lowry not well enough to go." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

² Lady Frances: "Col. England set off for the Frontier." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

³ 1st Lt M. Williams of the Royal Engineers was stationed in Grahamstown. (Cape Almanack 1832/3)

⁴ Lady Frances: "Some apprehension respecting the Shipping in the Bay." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

On 1 July "the wind blew freshly from the N.North-east, pouring a heavy sea into the harbour ... There were 19 vessels riding at anchor, not one of which sustained more than trifling injury:- the *Triumph* drifted, and broke the shank of one anchor; the *Mexican* parted, but soon brought up again; and the *Margaret* and *Cape Breton* both received slight damage. As the sea during the continuance of the gale was very high and angry, and the gusts and squalls of wind almost incessant, and very strong, a satisfactory proof was thus afforded, that if vessels are *efficiently* found with Tackle proportioned to their size and draught, there is but little danger to be apprehended from their lying in this Roadstead in the winter months; or at all events that much of the clamor which has been raised as to the *Insecurity* of Table Bay at this season of the year, may be ascribed to the imperfect and reckless way in which many vessels are furnished with anchors and cables ... The weather continued boisterous, with much rain, up to yesterday [Tuesday 3 July] afternoon, but the Shipping was in safety at that time. - Several of the Captains of vessels are warm in their acknowledgements of the activity and attention of the Port Captain while the gale lasted." (South African Commercial Advertiser 4 July 1832)

⁵ "Lady Frances Cole will be happy to see those Ladies and Gentlemen, who may wish to visit her, at Government House, on the Evenings of TUESDAY, during the month of July, at nine o'clock.

L.A. During, Capt. and A.D. Camp.

Government House, June 19, 1832." (South African Commercial Advertiser 30 June 1832)

⁶ Lady Frances: "few people present owing to the Weather - Lowry very unwell with the Lumbago." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

Wylde, Dr McDowell,⁷ Captain Young, Mr Slater, Mr & Mrs Majoribanks, Mr Napear, Mr Payne, Mr Dumarque,⁸ Col. Wade.

Friday 6th The 3d Dinner.⁹ The Menzies, the Bells, the Steuarts, Baron & Baroness Lorentz, Dr. & Mrs Halliday, Dr. Murray, Mr Hamilton, Mr Burgoyne, Captn. Lindsay, Mr Brown, Col. & Mrs Wade.

Saturday 7th The Dyces and Mr Clarke dined here.

Sunday 8th A family party.¹⁰ Poor Margaret died.

Monday 9th The Bells, the Wades, the Smiths, and Alfred¹¹ dined here.

Tuesday 10th A very numerous Soirée. Miss Blair came.

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Wednesday 11th Mr Clarke dined here.

Thursday 12th Another great Dinner.¹² The Bells, the Wades, Judge Burton, Mr C. Burton, Mr & Mrs Hough, Major & Mrs Michell, Mr & Mrs Carey, Mr & Mrs McDowell, Miss Hare, Miss Blair, Mr Knyvett,¹³ Col. Kennedy,¹⁴ Mr Smith (Madras Service)¹⁵ Mr Heaviside, Captn. England were the Guests. Dr. Adamson's 1st Lecture.¹⁶ The Mary Jane came in.¹⁷

⁷ Dr. McDowell, his wife, and four children, had arrived at the Cape on board the St George on 26 Feb. 1832 from Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Feb. 1832)

⁸ Mr Dumurgue, M.C.S., was a British visitor from India at the Cape. (Gazette 2 July 1832)

⁹ Lady Frances: "Lowry confined to his room." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

¹⁰ Lady Frances: "Lowry not well enough to join the party." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

¹¹ Alfred Harris. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

¹² Lady Frances: "Lowry still unable to come to it." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

¹³ Captain Knyvett, B.N.I., was a British visitor from India. (Gazette 2 July 1832; Evans 186)

¹⁴ Col. Kennedy, B.N.I., was a British visitor from India. (Literary Gazette 2 July 1832)

¹⁵ Mr Smith, of the 62nd N.I., was a British visitor from India. (Literary Gazette 2 July 1832)

¹⁶ Dr J. Adamson D.D., Minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, offered: "Lectures on Science in a popular form ... intended to give such a general view of Natural Agents as may be serviceable to introduce to the separate Sciences comprised under the term of Physics. Lecture I. will be chiefly introductory and Historical. II. will be on the general Properties of Bodies, and the tendencies which influence them, and their distinctions." (South African Commercial Advertiser 7 July 1832)

- Friday 13th Another great Dinner.¹⁸ The Bells, Mr & Mrs Kekewich, Mr & Mrs Petrie, Miss Hare, Col. & Mrs Thomson, Captn. Boys, Captn. Smith, Mr Tyson, Mr Pettingal, Mr Duthie, Captn. Hare & Captn. Poole.
- Saturday 14th I dined at Col. Wade's where I met Mr Charles Bayley, Mr Clarke, Mr Brink, Mr Watt & Captain Graham. There was a family party at Govt. House. The Governor dined with the rest of the family, for the first time since his illness. Emma Blair went home.
- Sunday 15th I dined at Col. Bell's to meet the Oliphants. A family party at home.
- Monday 16th Mr Clarke, Mr Tyson, Mr Graham, Mr Lawson and Dr. Murray dined at Govt. House.
- Tuesday 17th A very full Soirée - & delightful music.
- Wednesday 18th Col. Kennedy, Mr Hall¹⁹ & Mr MacKay (of the Curlew)²⁰ Mr Burroughs & Mr Frith dined here.
- Thursday 19th Mr & Mrs Rivers dined & slept here. The Bells, the Oliphants, the Wades, Mr Clarke, Mr Duthie, Captain Trotter were the other Guests.
- Friday 20th A great Dinner. The Bells, the Cartwrights, Captn. & Mrs Fitzgerald, Mrs & Miss Bowles, Captn. & Mrs Keates, Mr & Mrs Bance, Mrs Ebden, Major & Mrs Rogers, Major Cloete & Mr Rogerson.
- Saturday 21st The Jaseur arrived from the Mauritius.²¹ All the Family, with the exception of His Excellency & Captain During, went to the Play, which was

17 The brig Mary & Jane had sailed from the Downs on 14 Apr. for Table Bay. She carried mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 14 July 1832)

18 Lady Frances: "Lowry still confined to his room." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

19 Lt. W.H. Hall, of the H.M.S. Curlew, stationed at the Cape as part of the Naval Force. (Cape Almanack 1833; Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

20 Acting Surgeon, Mr S. MacKay, of the H.M.S. Curlew was stationed at the Cape as part of the naval Force. (Cape Almanack 1833)

21 The H.M.S. Jaseur had sailed from Mauritius on 24 June for Simon's Bay. Heavy gales were encountered on the passage. (South African Commercial Advertiser 21, 28 July 1832)

acted for the Benefit of the Philanthropic Society.²² The House was very full, & the acting very respectable.

Captn. Trotter went away.

Sunday 22nd Captain Sinclair & Mr Dickinson dined with us.

Monday 23rd The Admiral & Mrs Warren, Miss Warren, Mr Warren²³ & Captain Ogle²⁴ came from the Bay - the Admiral returned after Tiffin. Sir Charles & Lady D'Oyley & the Bells dined here.

Tuesday 24th Another Soirée which was well attended. Miss Blair came.

Wednesday 25th Mrs Warren, Miss Warren, Captain During and myself, dined at Mr Stoll's. Mr Marsh, Mr Graham & Captn. Boys dined at Govt. House.

Thursday 26th²⁵ The Bells, Mr Bayley,²⁶ Mr Rogerson, Mr Hamilton, & Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, and Mr Clarke dined here.

Friday 27th We all went to a dance given by Col. Wade to Florence. The 72d Band attended.

Saturday 28th The Smiths, the Wades, the Houghs, Mr Payne and Mr Sutton dined at Governmt. House.

[P68)
Sunday 29th²⁷ A family party.

22 The British Amateurs performed gratuitously Morton's Comedy The Cure for the Heart Ache, two popular songs, and a farce, Raising the Wind. (South African Commercial Advertiser 11, 14 July 1832)

23 Lt Richard Laird Warren, Flag Lieutenant of the Naval Force at Simonstown. (Cape Almanack 1833)

24 Captain Thomas Ogle, Flag Commander of the Naval Force at Simon's Town. (Cape Almanack 1833)

25 Lady Frances: "Attended Dr Adamson's third Lecture." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

26 i.e. Mr Charles Bayley. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

27 Lady Frances: "Lisinka's day at the School. The Ladies all attended the evening School." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

 The Sunday School was established in Dec. 1829 by Lady Frances Cole and in 1832 it was attended by just more than a hundred children. The School met at the School-house in Grave street at 09:30 in the morning; and at the School-house in Keerom street at 15:00. "A certain number of Ladies" superintended the School, attending it in rotation. (Cape Almanack 1832)

Monday 30th Mrs Warren, Miss Warren, Captain During and myself dined at Col. Munro's - there was a large party & dancing in the evening.

Tuesday 31st The last Soirée, which was not very full, the weather being very bad - The music was most beautiful.

August

Wednesday 1st The Warrens & Miss Blair went away. The Govr. Fanny, & I, dined at Col. Wade's where we met the Bells, Mr & Mrs Rivers, Capt. Trotter, Mr Lamay,²⁸ & Mr Oliphant.

Thursday 2d²⁹ A great Dinner. The Bells, the Wades, Major & Mrs Gordon, Mr & Mrs Stoll, Mr Brink, Mr & Mrs Marshall, Mr Dumarque, Mr Watt, Mr Golter,³⁰ & Mr Bowles.

Friday 3d A great Dinner. The Bells, Col. Wade, Mr & Mrs & Miss Truter, Mr & Mrs Crozier, Mr & Mrs Daniel Cloete, Mr & Mrs Judge, Mr & Mrs Bruce,³¹ Captain Trotter, Mr Williams, Captain Graham and Mr Kern.

Saturday 4th Fanny dined at Col. Bell's. The Dyces and Mr Clarke dined at Govt. House.

Sunday 5th The Bells dined here.

Monday 6th³² The Smiths, Captain Hall, & Dr Murray, dined here. The Southampton arrived.³³

28 Mr John Payton Lamey was Secretary to the Commander of the Naval Force at Simonstown. (Cape Almanack 1833)

29 Lady Frances: "Heavy showers during the day - Attended Dr Adamson's fourth Lecture." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

30 Probably Assistant Surgeon J. Coulter, of the H.M.S. Undaunted. (Cape Almanack 1833)

31 Mr & Mrs Bruce were British visitors from India. (Literary Gazette 2 July 1832)

32 Lady Frances: "A beautiful day - The Girls rode to the Block on the Devil's Mountain." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

37 The H.M.S. Southampton had sailed from Madras on 11 June for Simon's Bay and Spithead, England, bearing the Flag of Sir E.W. Owen. (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Aug. 1832; Gazette 10 Aug. 1832)

Tuesday 7th I went to the Marriage of Miss Anne Marshall.³⁴ The Wades, Captain Bance, & Mr Duthie dined at Govt. House; also Dr. Burrow. The Band came.

Wednesday 8th Mr Clarke Burton, Mr Tyson, Mr C. Bayley and Mr Clarke dined at Govt. House.

Thursday 9th³⁵ A great Dinner. Sir Edward & Lady Owen,³⁶ the Bells, the Wades, Dr. Mrs & Miss Leishing, Mr Charles Bayley, Captain & Mrs Doyle, Mr Lacey, Captain England, Mr Dobson, Col. & Mrs Smith.

Friday 10th³⁷ Another great Dinner. Mr & Mrs Maarsdorp and Miss Maarsdorp, Mr & Mrs Borchards, Mr & Mrs Henry Cloete, (of the Bridge) Capt. & Mrs Logie, Mr & Mrs Adair, Mr Clarke, Mr Dobson, Captain Laws,³⁸ Captain Hall.

A Soirée and the 72d Band.

Saturday 11th Mr Elliot and his family³⁹ arrived in the Severn,⁴⁰ last from Mauritius, bringing the news that Sir Charles Colville had signed an Order for the dismissal of Mr Jeremie!⁴¹ Sir Edward & Lady Owen, went away. Fanny,

34 Mr Henry Francis Dumergue of the Madras Civil Service, married Anna Jane, youngest daughter of John Marshall, President of the Government Bank. (Gazette 10 Aug. 1832; South African Commercial Advertiser 8 Aug. 1832)

35 Lady Frances: "Dr Adamson's Lecture put off." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

36 Sir Edward W. Owen and Lady Owen had arrived on board the H.M.S. Southampton from Madras on 6 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Aug. 1832)

37 Lady Frances: "A very fine day - Drove with Lady Owen to Protea - A large Dinner chiefly of Dutch Ladies." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

38 Captain John M. Laws commanded the H.M.S. Southampton which had arrived in Simon's Bay on 6 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 11 Aug. 1832)

39 The Hon. Mrs Elliot, her daughter, and son were on board the bark Severn which arrived in Table Bay on 11 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Aug. 1832)

40 The bark Severn had sailed from Calcutta on 27 May; and Mauritius on 13 July, for the Cape and England. (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Aug. 1832)

41 "Letters and Papers up to the 11th of July have been received from Mauritius. The Government continues in a state of palsy. The white inhabitants are obstinate in demanding what Sir C. Colville is firm in refusing to grant, namely Absolution from Offences committed against the Laws, past, present, and to come. Various meetings have been held, which they call public, but which the Governor calls secret and of questionable legality, at which, says an eye-witness, "they spoke Sedition, voted Treason, and then softened it down to nothing, when it came to the point." They have denied the Government the use of the "Free Press" lately granted to them by the King - a blow for which his Excellency was so little prepared that he has no other resource but the Pen. Their next step will be to deprive him of pen and ink, like other dangerous State prisoners. His last Gazette was lithographed! All business, both public and private, is suspended. The Courts of Justice don't sit. The Governor and several other great Officers have their houses protected by cannon, chevaux

most of the Children, Captain During & myself, went to the Play.⁴² The Elliots dined at Government House, and the Bells.

- Sunday 12th The Elliots & Bells dined here.
- Monday 13th The Govr. Fanny, Mr Balfour & myself formed the dinner party.
- Tuesday 14th The Doyles⁴³ came to hear the Band practise.⁴⁴ The Smiths, the Wades, the Bells, the Elliots, Mr Charles Bagley & Mr Baillie dined at Govt. House. The Southampton sailed.⁴⁵
- Wednesday 15th The Elliots, the Oliphants, Mr Rivers & Mr Clarke dined at Govt. House.
- [P69]
- Thursday 16th A large dinner, and a party of Young People to celebrate Louisa's Birthday.⁴⁶ The Bells, the Smiths, the Elliots, the Dyces, the Houghs,⁴⁷ the Wades, were the Guests.
- Friday 17th⁴⁸ We heard the Reform Bill had passed.⁴⁹ The Governor, Fanny, & Captain During dined at Col. Bell's. I dined with the Wades.

de frize, and other warlike machines. And the cause of all this bustle and preparation is - the presence of Mr. Jeremie." (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Aug. 1832).

- 42 Sir Walter Scott's romance Kenilworth was performed; also the farce Catherine & Petruchio (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Aug. 1832).
- 43 i.e. The D'Oyls, of whom Lady Frances Cole's grand-father, James Harris, had written: "here let me pay a just tribute of gratitude and affection to my Grandmother's good relation and constant companion Mrs Elizabeth D'Oyly, the last of that very ancient and very wealthy family." (James Harris, handwritten memoirs, PRO 30/43/1).
- 44 i.e. the Band of the 72nd Highlander Regt.. (Lady Frances Cole, journal, PRO 30/43/115).
- 45 The H.M.S. Southampton sailed for England (Gazette 24 Aug. 1832).
- 46 Louisa Cole turned fourteen (PRO 30/43/83).
- 47 Lady Frances Cole: "The little Houghs came in the evening when the Children danced & amused themselves till 11 o'clock." (journal, PRO 30/43/115).
- 48 Lady Frances Cole: "A very raw, stormy day - The house picked to pieces for preparation for the Birthday Ball." (journal, PRO 30/43/115).
- 49 Lady Frances Cole: "A ship arrived from England of 8th June brought news of the Reform Bill having been carried & received the Royal Sanction!" (PRO 30/43/115).

The Somersets arrived.⁵⁰

Saturday 18th I dined at Col. Wade's with Captain During, and met Mr Watt, Mr Burroughs, Mr Sutton and Captain Jarvis. The Governor & Fanny dined at Col. Bell's.

Sunday 19th The Elliots, and Mr Charles Bayley dined with us.

Monday 20th Their Excellencys and the Warrens dined at Col. Wade's.⁵¹

Tuesday 21st The King's birthday Ball which went off extremely well. There were about 600 persons present. The 2 Bands attended.

Wednesday 22nd The Warrens went away. The Governor, Fanny, Captain During & I, dined at Col. Bell's to celebrate Fanny's Birthday.⁵²

Thursday 23rd⁵³ Miss Elliot & Mr Clarke dined at Govt. House.

Friday 24th Arthur's Birthday kept.⁵⁴ There was a dinner of six and twenty persons - & dancing and various games in the evening.

Saturday 25th The 75th gave a farewell dinner to the Governor previously to going to the Frontier.⁵⁵ Catherine dined at Govt. House. Caroline Hare & Bella, came.

50 Sir Henry Somerset (1794-1862), eldest son of Lord Charles Somerset, distinguished at the battle of Waterloo, had travelled from Grahamstown, where he was in charge of the Cape Corps, to Cape Town en route to England, to attend to the administration of his late father's estate. He would return only in Jan. 1834. (Krüger 2:692)

51 Lisinka dined with the Bells. (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

52 Lady Frances Cole turned forty-eight. (Cole and Gwynn)

53 Lady Frances: "Mr Adamson's Lecture in the afternoon." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

54 Arthur Lowry Cole turned fifteen. (PRO 30/43/83)

55 "The 75th Regiment will proceed to the Frontier in three or four weeks, to relieve the 98th, which will return to the Cape Town Garrison. Colonel Somerset, the Commandant of Caffraria, is going to England on leave." (South African Commercial Advertiser 13 June 1832)

Sunday 26th Mr Fraser preached for the benefit of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.⁵⁶ I was confined to my room & could not go to Church. Mr Fraser & Mr Clarke Burton dined here.

Monday 27th Col. & Mrs Prendergast and Miss Prendergast had their Tiffin here. The Band came. The Oliphants, Captain Hall, Mr Deas Thomson and Mr Clarke dined here.

Tuesday 28th Fanny's Birthday kept. A large family party at dinner - and in the evening a dance composed of great & small people. The festivities of the evening began with the repetition of a Conversation in verse, by the five elder Children - then a set of Quadrilles was danced by the smallest set of Children, dressed in a costume of black & pink⁵⁷ - this was succeeded by a group of young Ladies in blue & white, and another in white, ornamented with flowers - after that the dancing became general & lasted till about one o'clock.

Wednesday 29th⁵⁸ The Elliots dined at Governt. House.

Thursday 30th⁵⁹ Fanny dined at Col. Bell's. The Wades, Mr & Mrs Oliphant and Captain Hall, dined at Governt. House.

Friday 31st The James Simpson⁶⁰ arrived with Dr. Wilson, the Bishop of Calcutta⁶¹ on board - he & his Daughter came to Government House. Dr. Burrow and Mr Hough were invited to meet him at dinner.

56 The service was held in the Dutch Reformed Church at 11:30. His Excellency the Governor was Patron of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. (South African Commercial Advertiser 25 Aug. 1832)

57 Lady Frances: "a little Quadrille of eight dressed like Turf Peasants, (none bigger than my Fanny) came forth & danced very nicely ... I had only to complain that it was almost too much for my feelings!" (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

58 Lady Frances: "We were all a good deal fagged with yesterday's festivities - & were glad to dine quietly." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

59 The Leda arrived in Table Bay from Mauritius after a 21-day passage, bringing the news that Mr Jeremie had sailed for England on board the *Emma* on 28 July, "having first been sworn and regularly admitted into the Office of Procureur and Advocate General. The conduct of the Inhabitants on this occasion was in strict accordance with their previous proceedings - insolent, rebellious, and absurd. The Governor [Lord Charles Colville] is entirely in the hands of the most violent characters in the Island." (South African Commercial Advertiser 1 Sept. 1832)

60 The James Sibbald had sailed from London on 21 June for the Cape and Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 Sept. 1832)

61 The Right Reverend Daniel Wilson, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and his daughter, were on board the James Sibbald, bound for Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 Sept. 1832)

September

Saturday 1st Col. & Mrs Wade, the Elliots, & Mr Thompson dined at Govt. House.⁶²

Sunday 2d The Bishop preached & administered the Sacrament [P70] to a very great number of Communicants.⁶³ A family party at Dinner.

Monday 3d A great Dinner.⁶⁴ Sir John Wylde, Mr & Mrs Menzies, Mr & Mrs Oliphant, the Bells, the Smiths, Mr Elliot, Col. Kennedy, Mr & Mrs Hough, Mr Judge, Captn. Darby.⁶⁵

Tuesday 4th Captain Hall breakfasted with us, the Transport having been obliged to put back. The Bishop dined at Col. Wade's. Captain Dunlevie, Mr Baillie and Major Molesworth dined at Govt. House.

Wednesday 5th We all accompanied the Bishop to Wynberg where he performed Divine Service,⁶⁶ and afterwards consecrated the ground on which the Church is to be built. We then went to Protea where all the Inhabitants of Wynberg were invited to Tiffin in order to be introduced to the Bishop. On our way back to Cape Town we stopped at Rondebosch, for the Bishop to consecrate a piece of ground there, for the creation of a Chapel.⁶⁷ The day was concluded by a large dinner. The Bells, the Elliots, Mr & Mrs Burton, Mr & Mrs Kekewich, Dr. Oke, Mr Heaviside, Dr. Murray, Mr Faure, Mr Napear, Mr Williams, Mr Moodie.

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- 62 Lady Frances: "The Elliots & a large party of the principal people of the place dined to meet the Bishop." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 63 Lady Frances records: "I was less struck with his preaching than I expected - We had our usual family party & no news. The Bishop read Prayers in the morning and evening." (journal, PRO 30/43/115) The Bishop "preached and administered the Sacrament, and visited the Sunday Schools." (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)
- 64 Lady Frances: "The Bishop went to visit the different Schools & then rode - A large party to meet him at dinner." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 65 Captain W. Darby commanded the James Sibbald which had arrived in Table Bay on 31 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 5 Sept. 1832)
- 66 Lady Frances: "He preached one of the finest Sermons I ever heard on the occasion." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 67 The Episcopal Church, Rondebosch: "This Building is now erecting by Subscription, and is situated near the fifth mile stone on the Simon's Town Road, (opposite to "Groote Schuur") the ground having been granted by his Excellency the Governor on the 30th of August, and consecrated by the Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, on the 5th of September last." (Cape Almanack 1833)

- Thursday 6th⁶⁸ The Bishop & Mr Bateman, Chaplain to the Bishop, dined at Col. Bell's. Fanny, the young Ladies and I, went there in the evening.
- Friday 7th The Governor, the Bishop, Mr Bateman, and Captain During went to Simon's Town.⁶⁹ Mrs Wade dined here.
- Saturday 8th The Prendergasts called to take leave.⁷⁰ The Governor and the Bishop returned from Simon's Town. The Bells, the Elliots, Lady D'Oyley, Dr. & Mrs Nicholson, Dr. & Mrs Dyce dined at Govt. House.
- Sunday 9th The Bishop preached - and afterwards ordained Mr Judge and Mr Cooke⁷¹ - this was a most solemn and impressive service - and the Sermon, on the Duties of the Clergy, one of the most beautiful and affecting discourses I have ever heard or read.⁷² In the afternoon the Bishop went to the Sunday School,⁷³ where he delivered a short but most excellent address to the Children. Immediately afterwards he went to consecrate the Burial Ground, belonging to St. George's Church.⁷⁴
The Bells dined with us.

68 Lady Frances: "The Bishop occupied all the morning in examining the Candidates for orders & other business - After Tiffin we went to Constantia - He dined with the Bells." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

"On Thursday he attended a special meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and addressed those who were present at some length." (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

69 Lady Frances: "The Bishop Preached & Confirmed there." (PRO 30/43/115; South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

70 Colonel Prendergast and his family, British visitors from India were now going back to England. Their home, Liesbeck Cottage, in Rondebosch had been advertised for sale in May; their carriage had been sold in Sept. (Literary Gazette 2 July 1832; South African Commercial Advertiser 19 May 1832; 5 Sept. 1832)

71 Lady Frances: "Mr Judge & Mr Cooke were received into full Orders." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

"In virtue of a Special Commission granted by the Right Hon. and Right Reverend the Bishop of London, the following gentlemen were admitted on Sunday last into the holy Order of Priests of the Church of England, by the Bishop of Calcutta:- Edward Judge, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge. H.G. Pauncefote Cooke, B.A., Exeter College, Oxford. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

72 "Previous to this solemn ceremony, his Lordship preached an eloquent and impressive Sermon, containing a body of advice to the Christian Minister as regards his doctrines, his faithfulness, and his personal character, which could scarcely be equalled - a Sermon which, while it asserted with dignity and moderation the claims of that Apostolic Branch of the whole Church of Christ, of which his Lordship is a distinguished ornament, breathed the purest spirit of Charity towards all the Sister Churches of the Reformation." (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

73 The Sunday School in Keerom-street. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

74 The burial ground was at Green Point. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115; South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

Monday 10th The Bishop held a Confirmation at which there were 236 persons confirmed, amongst the number Florence & Arthur.⁷⁵ After Luncheon, to which all the Clergy in Cape Town were invited, the Bishop & his Family embarked.⁷⁶ The Governor accompanied him to the Jetty, and Captain During went on board with him. The Ship sailed out of the Bay, the same evening, bearing with it our sincere prayers for the welfare of the Passengers.⁷⁷ I dined at Col. Wade's with Captain During.

Tuesday 11th The Maria arrived⁷⁸ with some officers for the 72d - and amongst them Mr Wade, Col. Wade's Nephew.⁷⁹ Mr Frazer & The Oliphants, Mr Clarke, Mr Petrie & Capt. Richmond of the Hero of Malone,⁸⁰ dined here. The Elliots came.

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Wednesday 12th The Wades, including Mr Wade,⁸¹ & the Bells dined here.

Thursday 13th The new Officers of the 72d & 75th dined here;⁸² that is, Captains Sutherland & Murray, of the former,⁸³ & Messrs Brummel &

⁷⁵ The Confirmation was held in the Dutch Church in Cape Town. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

⁷⁶ "This visit of his Lordship must be long remembered by the inhabitants of the Cape with gratitude. He has exerted himself warmly and ably in the general cause of Religion and Philanthropy; and his purse has been as open as his hands and head were ready to labor. - Scarcely a moment was left to his own relaxation, and this of itself (for the present voyage is the first which in the course of his life he has taken, and must naturally have tried his bodily strength,) was no inconsiderable sacrifice." (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

⁷⁷ The James Sibbald was headed for Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

⁷⁸ The brig Maria had sailed from the Downs on 27 June for Table Bay, with a cargo of coal. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

⁷⁹ On board the bark Margaret, which had sailed from the Downs on 25 June for Table Bay and Simon's Bay, and arrived the same day as the Maria, were several officers of both the 72nd and 75th Regiments. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12, 15 Sept. 1832)

⁸⁰ Captain H. Richmond commanded the Hero of Malown which had sailed from the Downs on 18 June; Madeira on 5 July; and arrived in Table Bay on 8 Sept. Their destination was Bombay. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

⁸¹ i.e. Lt John Wade, Col. Wade's nephew, who had arrived on board the Margaret on 11 Sept. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12, 15 Sept. 1833; Cape Almanack 1833)

⁸² All of them had arrived on board the Margaret on 11 Sept. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12, 15 Sept. 1833)

⁸³ Captain Peter Sutherland, and Captain George Murray were both of H.M. 72nd Highlanders. (Cape Almanack 1833)

Blencowe of the latter regts.⁸⁴ also Captain Logie, & Major & Mrs Rogers, and Mr & Mrs Hough.

Friday 14th Mrs Wade dined here. Mrs Oliphant came in the evening. Mr Elliot⁸⁵ dined at the 72d Mess.

Saturday 15th⁸⁶ The Smiths, the Bells, Mr Baillie & Mr Burgoyne dined here.

Sunday 16th A very stormy & rainy day.

Monday 17th⁸⁷ The Bells, Captain England, Dr. Murray and Alfred Harris dined here.

Tuesday 18th The Wades, Mr Proctor, Mr Melch, Mr Oliphant, Mr Clarke, Mr Blencowe 75th Mr Hare 75th⁸⁸ Dr Smith, Mr Charles Bayley, dined at Govt. House, also Mr Dunlevie.

Wednesday 19th⁸⁹ The Transport returned with part of the 98th Regt. and brought Dr. Smith.⁹⁰ The Olive Branch came in.⁹¹ Charles Bell dined here; also Mr Wade, Captn. Boys & Captn. Young.

84 Ensign William Brumell, and Lieutenant E.W. Blencowe were both of H.M. 75th Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1833)

85 i.e. Mr John Elliot. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

86 Lady Frances: "The Boys Arthur & Willy went out hunting with J. Elliot & Capt During - no sport." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

87 Lady Frances: "A great meeting of the Boors to consider & petition upon the new Slave Ordinance - they came in a Body to bring their Resolutions to the Govr. at Govt House - Mr Henry Cloete being their spokesman." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

88 Ensign Hare of H.M. 72nd Regiment had arrived on board the Margaret on 11 Sept. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

89 Lady Frances: "The Elliots left us to go & settle at the Vineyard. (journal, PRO 30/43/115) They were probably renting a house on the estate from Mr Hawkins, who owned it. (Krüger 1:354)

90 The brig Earl Bathurst had sailed from Algoa Bay on 14 Sept. for Table Bay, with officers and 172 rank and file of H.M. 98th Regiment. (South African Commercial Advertiser 19 Sept. 1832)

91 The Olive Branch had sailed from London on 25 June for Table Bay. During the voyage her Captain had died. (South African Commercial Advertiser 22 Sept. 1832)

Thursday 20th⁹² A great Dinner. The Wades & Bells, Mr & Mrs & Miss Chiappini, Mr & Mrs Dumerque, Major & Mrs McLean, Mr & Mrs Sandford, Mr Bracken,⁹³ Mr Clarke, Dr Smith, Dr & Mrs Dyce, Mr Moultrie.

Friday 21st A great Gentlemen Dinner consisting chiefly of Merchants. Fanny, the Girls, Arthur and I, dined with Catherine, & met Mrs Wade, Mr Baillie, & Mr Wade. Mr Cooke also dined with us.

Saturday 22nd Captain England, Mr Duthie, Captns. Poole and Burroughs, Captain Vernon & Dr. Smith dined here.

Sunday 23rd⁹⁴ A Family party.

Monday 24th The Wades, the Bells, Dr. Smith & Mr Baillie dined here.

Tuesday 25th The first Day of the Races. Mr Rogerson and Captain Dunlevie were the Winners. The Governor gave a large Gentleman dinner, chiefly to the members of the Turf Club. Fanny & I, dined with Mrs Wade. The Bedford⁹⁵ came in.⁹⁶

Wednesday 26th The Admiral came to breakfast. Catherine Bell, Mrs Wade & Charles Bell, dined here. The young Elliots came to see us. The 2d day of the Races. Mr Rogerson won.

Thursday 27th There was a Ball at Governt. House rather thinly attended and not very gay. Captn. Meredith of the Pelorus⁹⁷ and Dr. Smith dined with us.

Friday 28th The third day of the Races. Mr Rogerson won one Race. The Govr. &c dined at the Turf Club.⁹⁸ Catherine, Mrs Wade, Mrs Smith, & Mr

⁹² Lady Frances: "Drove to the Vineyard to see the Elliots - The last large Dinner for Ladies." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

⁹³ Mr Bracken, B.N.I. and his family were British visitors at the Cape from India. (Literary Gazette 2 July 1832)

⁹⁴ Lady Frances: "Lisha's day at the School - 117 Girls present." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

⁹⁵ The Duke of Bedford had sailed from London on 15 July; and Portsmouth, 23 July, for the Cape and Calcutta. She carried mail. (Gazette 28 Sept. 1832)

⁹⁶ Lady Frances: "John Elliot heard of the arrival of the Bedford at Simons Bay & went there to fetch them." (journal, PRO 30/43/115) Three Masters Elliot were listed as passengers. (Gazette 28 Sept. 1832)

⁹⁷ Captain R. Meredith commanded the H.M.S. Pelorus (18 guns) which was part of the Naval Force based in Simon's Bay. (Cape Almanack 1833)

⁹⁸ The Dinner was held at 18:30 at the George's Hotel. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832)

Wade,⁹⁹ & Charles Bell dined at Govt. House.
The Britannia came in.¹⁰⁰

Saturday 29th Captain Stirling (Governor of Swan River) breakfasted with
us.¹⁰¹

Sunday 30th The Governor & his Staff, Fanny and myself went to the
consecration of the Dutch Church at Wynberg - and afterwards to Mr
MacKay's, the Vineyard & Protea.

October 1st Col. Peddie,¹⁰² Mr Clarke, Dr. Murray & Monday Dr. Smith
dined here, also the Bells.

Tuesday 2nd The last day of the Races; the Girls and I, went for a short
time¹⁰³ - Mr Rogerson won the Indian Purse. [P72] Captain & Mrs Dance (of the
Sulphur),¹⁰⁴ the Smiths, Mr Warren & Mr Eyrie¹⁰⁵ dined here; also Mr Proctor,
& Mr Duthie.

Wednesday 3rd We heard of the arrival of the Loane with the Governor
of Bourbon on board.¹⁰⁶ Mr & Mrs Hough & Mr Blencowe¹⁰⁷ dined here.

99 i.e. Mr John Wade. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

100 The bark Britannia had sailed from Plymouth on 26 June for Table Bay and Calcutta. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Sept. 1832)

101 His Excellency Captain Stirling R.N., and his family, had sailed on board the H.M.S. Sulphur (8 guns) from Swan River on 12 Aug. for the Cape and England. (Gazette 5 Oct. 1832) Captain Stirling and his family had sailed from London on 8 Feb. 1829 - three years before - to take up the Governorship of the new settlement on the West Coast of Australia. (South African Commercial Advertiser 18 Apr. 1829)

102 Lt-Col. Peddie, of the 72nd Regiment, his wife, two daughters and a son, were on board the Duke of Bedford which had sailed from London and Portsmouth in July for the Cape, where they arrived on 25 Sept. (Gazette 28 Sept. 1832)

103 Lady Frances did not go to the Races that day. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

104 The H.M.S. Sulphur (8 guns) sailed for England on 7 Oct. under Captain Dance's command. (Gazette 5 Oct. 1832)

105 i.e. Lt. G.S. Airey of H.M.S. Isis stationed at Simon's Town as part of the Naval Force there. (Cape Almanack 1833)

106 H.F.M.S. La Loane had sailed from Brest on 27 June; from Rio on 5 Sept., for the Cape and Bourbon. His Excellency the Governor of Bourbon and 150 troops of his were on board. (South African Commercial Advertiser 6 Oct. 1832)

107 Lt. Blencowe, of H.M. 75th Regiment, had arrived at the Cape on board the Margaret on 11 Sept. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12, 15 Sept. 1832)

Thursday 4th The Governor gave a large Gentleman dinner.¹⁰⁸ Fanny, the Girls and I, dined with Catherine.

Friday 5th The Governor of Bourbon & one of his Aide de Camps, the Bells, the Wades, the Smiths, Dr. Smith, Monr. de Lettres,¹⁰⁹ Dr. Murray, dined at Govt. House.

Saturday 6th Netty's Birthday¹¹⁰ was celebrated, by a large juvenile & grown up Dinner - & dancing in the evening. I was unwell and in bed all day.

Sunday 7th A Family party at dinner, to which I came down.

Monday 8th The five elder Children went to the Vineyard to celebrate Willy Elliot's Birthday. Col. Munro, Mr Petrie, Captain Vernon¹¹¹ & Mr Jones¹¹² of the Isis, dined here.

Tuesday 9th Fanny & the rest of the Family went to the Wynberg Races,¹¹³ I remained at home. The elder children came back from the Vineyard.¹¹⁴ The Bells, Mr Bouverie, Judge Burton,¹¹⁵ Mr Clarke Burton, Mr Charles Burton, Dr. Burrow, Dr. Smith, Dr. Dyce, Dr. Murray & Mr Clarke dined here.

108 Lady Frances: "consisting of the Clergy & Lawyers of the Place." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

109 Mr F. de Lettres was the French Consul, resident at no. 2 Church Square, Cape Town. (Cape Almanack 1833)

110 Henrietta Cole's sixth birthday. (PRO 30/43/83)

111 i.e. Captain H.W.V. Vernon of H.M. 98th Regiment. (Cape Almanack 1833)

112 Lt E.L. Jones of the H.M.S. Isis stationed at Simon's Town. (Cape Almanack 1833)

113 The Wynberg Races were run over two days at the Wynberg Race Course. The first day included the Wynberg Stakes, the Maude Gold Cup, and the Weltevreden Stakes; the second, a Hack Race, a handicap, and a pony race. (South African Commercial Advertiser 29 Sept. 1832)

114 Lady Frances: "Fetched the Girls from the Vineyard, took them to tiff with Mrs Blair then to the Races & returned to Cape Town very hot & tired." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

115 It was a "Farewell dinner to Mr Burton." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115) The Hon. Mr Justice Burton had sold his home, Westbrooke, his four-wheel spring Cart, his furniture, and his two shares in the Commercial Exchange, prior to leaving Cape Town. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Sept. 1832) He had been removed from the Bench in the Cape Colony to that of New South Wales. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Oct. 1832)

- Wednesday 10th Dr. Smith called to take leave of us.¹¹⁶ Mrs Wade, Dr. Dyce, Mr Bowles, & Mr Baillie dined here.
- Thursday 11th The Governor had a large Gentleman Dinner. Fanny and I, dined with Catherine.
- Friday 12th Mr Byng, of the Isis, dined here, & Dr. Dyce. There was a Ball, which although very thinly attended, was kept up with great spirit till one o'clock.
- Miss Blair came.
- Saturday 13th I dined at Col. Wade's. Captns. Polkinghorne & Meredith, Mr Clarke and Mr Wade were the other Guests, Messrs. Burgoyne, Dashwood,¹¹⁷ Lindsay, Knyvett, all Indians,¹¹⁸ Mr Bouverie¹¹⁹ & Mr Rex & two or three officers of the 98th including Mr Dunlevie, dined at Government House.
- Sunday 14th¹²⁰ A Family party.
- Monday 15th The Wades, Col. & Mrs Smith, Col. & Mrs Peddie, Miss McCree, Captain Polkinghorne,¹²¹ Captn. Meredith, Mr Barrow, Major & Mrs Vaughan, Dr. Dyce, Mr Baillie dined at Government House.
- Tuesday 16th The Elliots dined here - also Major Michell, Dr. Murray, Captain Campbell (of the Bengal Merchant)¹²² Captain Polkinghorne, Mr Clarke, Mr Baillie and Charles Bell.
- Wednesday 17th Captain Polkinghorne went away. The Dycs, Captn. Meredith & Charles Bell dined here.

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- 116 Dr Andrew Smith (1798-1872), the zoologist and explorer, had arrived at the Cape in 1820 since which time he had served on the Frontier until 1825 when he returned to Cape Town and founded the natural history Museum. He had been ordered to go to Algoa Bay as military medical officer which position he held until Apr. 1833, when he returned to Cape Town. He returned to England early in 1837. (Krüger 1:731)
- 117 Mr Dashwood had arrived at the Cape from Calcutta on board the bark Severn on 11 Aug. (South African Commercial Advertiser 15 Aug. 1832)
- 118 i.e. British Visitors from India. (Literary Gazette 2 July 1832)
- 119 Lady Frances: "young Bouverie" (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 120 Lady Frances: "Judge Burton sailed for N.S. Wales in the Leda - Mrs England for Algoa Bay in the Guiana." (journal, PRO 30/43/115) The bark Guiana arrived safely at Port Elizabeth on 21 Oct. (Gazette 2 Nov. 1832)
- 121 Captain Polkinghorne remained with the Coles for two days. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 122 Captain J. Campbell of the Bengal Merchant had sailed from Calcutta on 8 July for London. They had arrived in Table Bay on 13 Oct. (South African Commercial Advertiser 17 Oct. 1832)

Miss Blair went away.

Thursday 18th Captain & Mrs Bance, Captain Blair, Captain Vernon, and Charles Bell, dined here.

Friday 19th Mr Clarke & Mr Elliot dined with us. We all went in the evening to Col. Wade's, where there was a juvenile dance to celebrate his Birthday.

Saturday 20th Major & Mrs Cotton, Mrs Hackett, Capt. & Mrs Bance, Messrs. Cooper, Wallace, Granet,¹²³ Wardrope & Dashwood & Captain Murray dined here.

Sunday 21st Mr Bowles, Alfred Harris, & Charles Bell dined here.

Monday 22nd Major Vaughan, Col. Wade, Mr Clarke Burton, Mr Clarke and Charles Bell dined here.

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Tuesday 23rd The Smiths, Mr Baillie, Mr Dashwood, Mr Brink & Charles Bell dined here.

Wednesday 24th Mr & Mrs Hawkins & their Son, Mr & Mrs Hough, Mr Rogerson, Mr Edwards,¹²⁴ Capt. Doyle,¹²⁵ & Charles Bell dined here.

Thursday 25th The Elliots & Mr Baillie dined here.

Friday 26th Mr Elliot dined here. The last Ball,¹²⁶ which was tolerably well attended, & went off well.

123 Ensigns H.D. Cowper, R.R. Wallis, and C. Granet of H.M. 98th Regiment (Cape Almanack 1833)

124 Lt T.M. Edwards, of H.M. 98th Regiment, was senior in rank to Lt B.H. Edwards. Either one of them could have visited the Coles. (Cape Almanack 1833)

125 Captain John Doyle of H.M. 72nd Highlanders, and his wife, had arrived at the Cape from Torbay on board the brig Rambler on Christmas Day 1830. (Gazette 31 Dec. 1830)

126 Lady Frances: "I gave my last Ball in the evening." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

Saturday 27th Messrs. Warren, Ayrey, Dixon,¹²⁷ Brabazon and Frazer¹²⁸, Dr. Murray (nephew to the Inspector Genl.),¹²⁹ Charles Bell & Mr Wade dined here.

Sunday 28th Mr Bowles, Mr Clarke Burton, & Charles Bell dined here.

Monday 29th Col. Wade & Col. Peddie, Dr. Burrow, Dr. Dyce, Mr Clarke, Dr. Adamson, & the Revd. Mr Murray¹³⁰ dined here. I was in my room all day - and only came down in the evening.

Tuesday 30th A small family party, including Miss Elliot.

Wednesday 31st Captain Polkinghorne came. Messrs. Dashwood, Burgoyne, Baillie, Ross, Mr Rex & Charles Bell dined here.

November

Thursday 1st¹³¹ Col. Smith, Mr Dunlevie, Mr Brink and Charles Bell dined here.

Friday 2d Mr Clarke and Charles Bell dined here.

Saturday 3d Charles Bell dined here.

Sunday 4th¹³² Mr Bowles, Mr Clarke Burton and Charles Bell dined here.

Monday 5th The Children dined with us.

Tuesday 6th I went to Sans Souci and returned on

127 Lts G.S. Airey and E. Dixon, both of H.M.S. Isis at Simon's Town. (Cape Almanack 1833; Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

128 Lt Fraser of the E.I.C.I. had arrived at the Cape from Portsmouth on board the James Pattison on 22 Oct. (South African Commercial Advertiser 24 Oct. 1832)

129 Dr. Murray, H.C.S., had arrived at the Cape from Portsmouth on board the James Pattison on 22 Oct. (South African Commercial Advertiser 24 Oct. 1832)

130 The Rev. Andrew Murray was from Graaff-Reinet. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

131 Lady Frances: "Attended Dr Adamson's last lecture." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

132 Lady Frances: "I took Catherine's place at the School - Sacrament Sunday - Florence & Arthur attended it for the first time." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

- Monday 12th Major Trip¹³³ and Mr Edie (of the 98th),¹³⁴ Mr Bance, Captain Liddell (of the Wellington),¹³⁵ Mr Duthie and Mr Kerr dined here.¹³⁶
- Tuesday 13th¹³⁷ Col. Wade, Major Vaughan, Captain Roberts, Mr Granet, Mr Clarke and Mr Payne dined here.
- Wednesday 14th His Excellency dined with the 72d Regt. and all his Staff.
- Thursday 15th¹³⁸ A Family party.
- Friday 16th I went to Camp's Bay where I remained¹³⁹ till
- Friday 23rd when I came in with Mrs Oliphant to attend the Ball given in honor of Lady Frances Cole by the 72d Regiment¹⁴⁰ - The Ball was given in Col. Smith's Lunter & the Supper in the Mess Room to which a covered passage was made. Their Excellencies were received by a Guard of Honor placed at the foot of the Stairs, the Band playing God save the King. A Chair of State was placed for Her Excellency in the first room appropriated for dancing - which however she did not occupy. After supper her health was drunk with the customary honors. We remained till the last, & were at home a little before three.¹⁴¹

The Governor & the children went to Protea on Tuesday the 20th and Fanny, the following day.

- Saturday 24th Fanny, the Governor, the Warrens &c, returned to Protea. I dined with the Wades.
- Sunday 25th I spent the evening with the Wades.

- 133 Major Tripp, of H.M. 98th Regiment, had arrived from Algoa Bay on board the Earl Bathurst on 6 Nov. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 Nov. 1832)
- 134 Ensign William Edie, of H.M. 98th Regiment had arrived from Algoa Bay on board the Earl Bathurst on 6 Nov. (South African Commercial Advertiser 10 Nov. 1832; Cape Almanack 1833)
- 135 The bark Wellington had sailed from Portsmouth on 3 Sept. for the Cape and Madras. Captain J. Little commanded her. (Gazette 7 Nov. 1832)
- 136 i.e. At Sans Souci. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 137 Lady Frances: "I drove to the Vineyard & Protea & then picked up Lisha at Sans Souci & brought her home." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 138 Lady Frances: "Strong S. Easter in the afternoon - I took a drive with Col. Bell - Charles dined here - Florence went to the Vineyard - Some officers dined. Lisinka drank tea with the Bells." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 139 On Sunday 18th Lady Frances "took Lisinka's day at the School." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 140 The Ball was held in the Castle. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 141 Lady Frances: "We remained in Town. Lisinka came from Camps Bay & remained in Town." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

- Monday 26th I went to Protea where I found the Warrens and Captain Meredith - The Menzies, Mr Blair and Major Mitchell dined there; also the Elliots.
- Tuesday 27th Almost all the party at Protea went to a very gay and pleasant ball at Sans Souci given in honor of Mrs Menzies' Birthday. The Dyce's came to Protea.
- [P74]
Wednesday 28th Mr Elliot & Captain Blair dined at Protea.
- Thursday 29th We all came in to Town¹⁴² where I remained to prepare for the Bazaar. The Blairs, Mr Cloete & Mr Granet dined at Protea.
- Friday 30th I spent in Town.
- Saturday 1st
December The Day of the Bazaar which went off extremely well.¹⁴³
I remained in Town.
- Sunday 2d I came out to Protea in the afternoon.
- Monday 3rd Mrs Warren returned to Simon's Town. Captain Blair, Mr Payne & Col. Thomson called. Mr & Mrs Hough spent the day here. Mr Clarke came. Mr Arthur Balfour's Birthday.
- Tuesday 4th A family party at dinner except Mr Clarke. Miss Warren went away.¹⁴⁴
- Wednesday 5th The Atlas arrived from Mauritius¹⁴⁵ bringing Mr Viret¹⁴⁶ & Edward Blackburne.¹⁴⁷ The Elliots dined here and Mr Duthie and Mr Burgoyne. Mr Clarke went away.
-
- 142 Lady Frances: "Went to Town for the Children's Masters." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 143 The Bazaar "for the sale of Fancy Work" was in aid of the Schools under the Patronage of Lady Frances Cole: The School of Industry, and the Sunday School. (South African Commercial Advertiser 27 Oct. 1832; Cape Almanack 1832)
- 144 Lady Frances: "Miss Warren went to Mrs Blair." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 145 The Atlas had sailed from Mauritius on 15 Nov. for Table Bay and London, with a cargo of sugar. (South African Commercial Advertiser 8 Dec. 1832)
- 146 During Sir Lowry Cole's Governorship at Mauritius, Mr Viret had been appointed Government translator and lived with the Cole family; by 1826 he was Lowry Cole's Private Secretary. (PRO 30/43/86, 32, 289)
- 147 Edward Blackburn had spent just over six months at the Cape in 1831, from 6 Feb., when he arrived on board the H.M.S. Maidstone, until 22 Aug., when he had sailed for Mauritius on board the Warspite. He was well liked.

Thursday 6th Everyone went to Cape Town,¹⁴⁸ except the little Girls, Mr Viret and myself. A Family party at dinner.

Friday 7th¹⁴⁹ Willy's Birthday kept.¹⁵⁰ The Thomson & the Elliot Boys &c came. The Elliots, Mr & Mrs Nicholson, Mr & Mrs Thompson & Col. Wade dined here. Mr Keppall, who arrived in the Persian,¹⁵¹ spent the day here - also Mr Lambert Mylius.¹⁵²

Saturday 8th The Wades dined here, and Mr Hamilton.

Sunday 9th The Governor, Fanny, & Mr Viret went to Town, Fanny did not return till the morning.¹⁵³ Mr Clarke came.

Monday 10th Mr Viret and Edward Blackburn went away and sailed in the Atlas,¹⁵⁴ the same day. The Bells and Arthur Balfour set off on a Tour.¹⁵⁵ Mr Wade came.¹⁵⁶

Tuesday 11th Captain During went on a Tour¹⁵⁷ with Mr Elliot and Mr Dashwood.

148 Lady Frances: "Went to Town for the Children's Masters - Ed. Blackburn with us." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

149 Lady Frances: "Drove to the Halfway House. Lowry went to Town and agreed with Captain Arkcoll to take his passage in the Belle Alliance to call here in April next." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

150 William Cole turned thirteen. (PRO 30/43/83)

151 The Hon. Lt. Keppel had been the only passenger on board the bark Persian when she had sailed from Mauritius on 9 Nov. for Table Bay and London, with a cargo of sugar. (Gazette 14 Dec. 1832)

152 Mr Lambert Mylius had arrived on 5 Dec. on board the Atlas which had sailed from Mauritius on 15 Nov. for London. (CGHG 14 Dec. 1832)

153 Lady Frances: "A fine day - I went into Town with Mr Viret & Lowry to breakfast with the Bells - I remained the whole day & returned to Protea at ten o'clock in a strong S. Easter." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

154 The Atlas sailed for London. (Gazette 14 Dec. 1832)

155 The Tour was to last a fortnight. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

156 Lady Frances: "Mr Wade came to act ADC!" (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

157 Lady Frances: "a Shooting Party." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

- Wednesday 12th Mr Clarke went away. The Elliots dined here.
- Thursday 13th We all spent the morning in Cape Town.¹⁵⁸ The Dyces and Captain Harvey¹⁵⁹ came to Protea.
- Friday 14th The same party as the preceding day.
- Saturday 15th James's Birthday - a large party of Boys. The Elliots and Col. Wade, Mr Burgoyne and Mr Clarke dined here, also Mr Hamilton, of the "Undaunted",¹⁶⁰ a cousin of Col. Wade's. Capt. Harvey went away.
- Sunday 16th A Family party & the Dyces.
- Monday 17th Do. Do.
- Tuesday 18th Mr Watt dined here.
- Wednesday 19th Bad weather from Friday to this day more or less. Windy and rainy. Some showers, but the weather improving. The Elliots and Mr Clarke dined here.
- Thursday 20th Every body but Mrs Dyce and myself, went to Cape Town,¹⁶¹ and returned to Dinner. Mr Clifford came. Captain During returned.
- Friday 21st Mr Clarke went away. The Wades and Mr Hamilton of the Undaunted, dined here.
- Saturday 22nd The Dyces went away. Col. Wade and the [P75] Elliots dined here.
- Sunday 23rd Mr Clifford went away. Mr Duthie dined and slept at Protea. Mr Arthur Balfour returned.¹⁶²

158 Lady Frances: "Went to Town for the Children's Masters." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

159 Captain Harvey commanded the H.M.S. Undaunted which had sailed from Mauritius on 14 Nov. for Simon's Bay. (Gazette 21 Dec. 1832)

160 Mr Hamilton, cousin of Col. Wade's, served on the Undaunted (42 guns) under the command of Captain Edward Harvey. The ship had sailed from Simon's Bay on 7 May 1832 for Mauritius. They sailed on 14 Nov. for the Cape. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Jan. 1833; Gazette 21 Dec. 1832; Cape Almanack 1833)

161 Lady Frances: "Gloomy & raw in Town - Went there with the Children - Clifford came - Capt During returned from his tour with John Elliot." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

162 Lady Frances: "Arthur Balfour returned from his Tour with the Bells." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

- Monday 24th The Bells returned from their Tour.¹⁶³ Mr Clifford came back from Simon's Town. The Govr. Fanny, the Young Ladies and I, dined at the Vineyard - the rest of the Family at Col. Wade's.
- Tuesday 25th¹⁶⁴ The Bells came to Protea. The Elliots, and Col. Wade, & all the young people belonging to the three families, dined at Protea.
- Wednesday 26th A grand Cricket Match¹⁶⁵ to which all the Neighbourhood was invited. The scene of action was near the Vineyard. Seats were placed under the Trees for the Spectators - and the Luncheon was arranged in two Tents, one for the Children, & the other, for the grown up people. Col. Wade, Mr Clarke & Mr Payne dined at Protea - the two latter slept there also.
- Thursday 27th¹⁶⁶ Mr Clifford went away. The Bells went to Cape Town.
- Friday 28th Mr Clarke went away - The Governor inspected the 98th Regiment on the Camp Ground - there was a Luncheon & Cricket Match afterwards - all the party went to see it but myself.
- Saturday 29th Dr Wallock (the Botanist) arrived on his way to Calcutta.¹⁶⁷ The Rewards were distributed at the Wynberg School. The Bells returned. Mr Granet & Captain Blair dined at Protea.
- Sunday 30th A Family Party.
- Monday 31st I went to Town¹⁶⁸ to buy the Rewards for the Children of the Sunday School.

163 Lady Frances: "Met the Bells returning from their Tour as we went back to Protea." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

164 Lady Frances: "Christmas Day - Fine day with a sharp cold wind - very unlike Summer." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

165 The original match had been planned for 15 December: "Very rainy forenoon - Jumbo's Birthday - An intended Cricket Match put off on account of the weather." (Lady Frances, journal, 15 Dec., PRO 30/43/115)
 On the day, "The whole Fete was ... perhaps the more enjoyed by James for whose Birthday it had been originally arranged from having been several times put off." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

166 Lady Frances: "Did not go to Town for Masters it being Holiday Time." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

167 Dr. Wallick, the Botanist, was a passenger on board the Exmouth which had sailed from London on 21 Oct. for the Cape, Madras, and Calcutta. (Gazette 4 Jan. 1833)

168 Lady Frances: "Lowry & Col. Bell went into Town as did Lisinka & Cath. - & returned to dinner." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

The Journal of Elizabeth Cozens

The Journal - January 1833

This is to all appearances the last New Year's Day, I shall spend at the Cape. (1 Jan. 1833)

Already in 1831, Sir Lowry Cole had expressed his intentions to Sir Herbert Taylor that he was loathe to tell Lord Goderich:

I have not the slightest intention to return here, even supposing I succeed in getting leave of absence. At the same time, with so large a family & no great means, it is not impossible in these times, I might feel it just towards them to return, if in my power.¹

Lady Frances and her children were quite ready to go home. Lisinka, too, looked forward to their return. January 1833 happens to be the final month recorded in her journal. She may have written more, but nothing more has survived. Like a candle in the wind the light that had been Lisinka's flickered once or twice in the journal of Lady Frances Cole and then blew out.

Of Lady Frances Cole and her sister, Lady Catherine Bell, and their respective husbands, Sir Andries Stockenstrom wrote:

Two more honourable upright men than Cole and Bell never set foot in South Africa or anywhere else. Their ladies, two sisters of the noble house of Malmesbury, would indeed be a blessing at the head of any society, and that of the Cape valued them as they deserved.
(Stockenstrom 1:297)

1 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Sir Taylor, 9 June 1831, PRO 30/43/97.

January 1st

Tuesday A large, young, & very noisy party at dinner - also the Elliots and Col. Wade; & Captain Trotter.¹ This is to all appearance the last New Year's Day, I shall spend at the Cape - and probably many of us have now eat our last meal together! May we become wiser & better, each year that is granted to us, that we may hope to meet again in another World, where we shall not be parted!

Captn. Trotter arrived from the Mauritius.

Wednesday 2d Mr Frazer came from Simon's Town to see the Governor & returned directly. Col. Smith breakfasted here. Mr Kennedy came.

Thursday 3d We all spent the day in Town² - the Bells remained there.

Friday 4th Mr Clarke Burton came. Mr Duthie called to take leave.³ Mr Lushington arrived in the Madras.⁴

Saturday 5th The Smiths and the Bells came. Mr and Mrs Ebdon, Mr & Mrs Meinheer, Mr & Mrs Ryneveld (of Clanwilliam)⁵ and Mr Wade dined here. Mr Kennedy went away.

Sunday 6th The Prizes were distributed at the Sunday School.⁶ I went to the Military Chapel with Col. Wade.

Monday 7th The Bells went into Town.

Tuesday 8th⁷ The Admiral, Mrs Warren, Captn. Harvey and Captain Trotter came to breakfast & staid till after Tiffin. A Cricket Match and an immense party of young and old at dinner - Wades Elliots Mr Bagley, Mr Dashwood,

¹ Captain H.D. Trotter, Commander of the H.M.S. Curlew which had arrived that day from the Isle of France from which she had sailed on 26 Nov. (Gazette 4 Jan. 1833)

² Lady Frances: "went to Town with the Children." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

³ Lady Frances: "Dinner given by the 72nd Regiment to Mr Duthie." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

⁴ The Right Hon. S. R. Lushington, ex-Governor of Madras, had arrived at the Cape on 4 Jan. on board the ship Madras which had sailed from Madras on 28 Oct. for London. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Jan. 1833; Cape Almanack 1834)

⁵ "Clanwilliam is about 168 miles north of Cape Town, and is situated near to the junction of the Jan Dissel with the Oliphant River" (Irons 50)

⁶ Lady Frances: "nearly 300 Children assembled." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

⁷ Twelfth Night (PRO 30/43/115)

&c. Catherine was ill & therefore was absent,⁸ as well as Col. Bell. Much noise, & merriment in the evening.

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Wednesday 9th⁹ Captain Ogle¹⁰ and Mr Warren¹¹ called to take leave. Mrs Keates called to take leave previous to going to the Frontier.¹² The Triumph came in.¹³ The Conte de Richemont, Captn. Fitan, and another french Gentleman¹⁴ dined at Protea. Also, the Elliots, Col. Wade & Mr Bayley.

Thursday 10th The Smiths & Mr Clarke Burton went away. I went with Fanny & the Girls to Town. Lady Colville¹⁵ arrived from the Mauritius in the

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- 8 Lady Frances: "Catherine attacked in the night with one of her Severe Spasms & not able to return." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 9 "There has been an extraordinary influx of vessels into Table Bay in the last few days, from east and west, north and south. The number of vessels in the harbour is 24. It is worthy of remark that the flags of six Nations or States grace the Bay at present, namely those of England, Holland, America, France, Portugal, and Hamburgh. They are all here for commercial purposes, and all assist our exports. The advantages which the Colony derives from this being made a Free Port are manifesting themselves daily." (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Jan. 1833)
- 10 i.e. Captain Thomas Ogle, Flag-Commander. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 11 Probably Rear-Admiral Frederic Warren. (Cape Almanack 1833)
- 12 Captain John Smith Keats, 75th Regt, would have gone ahead to the Frontier. He had married on 3 Nov. 1831, Maria Elizabeth (née Rowles), and their first child, Elizabeth Catharine, had been christened on 28 Nov. 1832. (South African Commercial Advertiser 9 Nov. 1831; Gazette 30 NOV. 1832)
- 13 The Triumph had sailed from Portsmouth on 6 Nov. for Table Bay and Bombay. She carried mail. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Jan. 1833; Gazette 11 Jan. 1833)
- 14 The Courier de St Paul, a French ship under the command of Captain P. Fitan, had sailed from Bourbon on 9 Dec. and arrived in Table Bay on 5 Jan.. On board were Mr Richemont and four other French gentlemen. They sailed for Nantes on 15 Jan. (Gazette 11 Jan. 1833)
- 15 Sir Charles Colville had become governor of Mauritius when Sir Lowry Cole departed from there in 1828.

Victoria.¹⁶ The ex Governor of Bourbon¹⁷ arrived in the Laone.¹⁸ Fanny remained in Town.¹⁹ Mr Clarke came.

Friday 11th Captain Blair & Mr Burgoyne dined here.

Saturday 12th The Girls and I, went to Cape Town²⁰ to call on Lady Colville. A family party at dinner. Mr Clarke went away.

Sunday 13th Sir Charles & Lady D'Oyley, Miss McLeod and Mr Knyvett came. Fanny returned²¹ - Le Conte de Richmond & Mr Elliot²² dined at Protea.

Monday 14th Mr Wade & Captn. Meredith dined and slept here.

Tuesday 15th The Bells came here.²³ Mr Smith dined here.

Wednesday 16th Monr. Duval Daillicy, ex Governor of Bourbon, Captain Turpin, & the first Lieut.²⁴ of the Saone, & Major Michell dined here. Mr Clarke dined & slept here.

Thursday 17th Everyone went to Town, but Miss McLeod & I. The Elliots and Mr Dashwood dined here.

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- 16 Lady Colville and her four children were on board the Victoria which had sailed from Mauritius on 11 Dec. for the Cape and Bristol. (Gazette 11 Jan. 1833)
- 17 The H.F.M.S. La Saone had the ex-Governor, Mr Duval Dailley, his wife and two children on board. One hundred soldiers accompanied them. They sailed on 30 Jan. (Gazette 11 Jan. 1833; Cape Almanack 1834; South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Jan. 1833)
- 18 The H.F.M.S. La Saone had sailed from Bourbon on 15 Dec. for Table Bay where they had arrived on 10 Jan. Their destination was Brest. (South African Commercial Advertiser 12 Jan. 1833)
- 19 Fanny remained with her sister, Catherine Bell, who had been taken ill with "one of her Severe Spasms" two days before, and was not yet recovered. The children went back to Protea. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 20 Lady Frances: "They returned in the evening & found the wind almost dangerously strong." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 21 Lady Frances had taken Lisinka's Sunday at the School and then returned to Protea. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 22 i.e. Mr John Elliot. (PRO 30/43/115)
- 23 Catherine Bell was "better but still very indifferent." (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 24 1st Lt. Petit of the French Frigate La Saone which had arrived in Table Bay on 10 Jan. (Gazette 11 Jan. 1833)

- Friday 18th The Bells came. Mr Burgoyne, Mr Dashwood and Mr Baillie, dined here.
- Saturday 19th Miss Baigrie, the Colville children, & Col. Hay came to breakfast.²⁵ Sir Robert Colquhoun & Lady Colquhoun,²⁶ Mr Payne & Mr Wade dined here.
- Sunday 20th Archdeacon Robinson,²⁷ formerly Chaplain to Bishop Hahn, preached at Wynberg²⁸ - an excellent Sermon & well delivered. A family party.
- Monday 21st Lord Frederick Beaulclere²⁹ came from Simon's Town. Mr Lushington, Captn. Luart, Captn. McArthur, (all Indians) dined here.
- Tuesday 22nd The D'Oyleys & Miss McLeod went away. The Milres called & Mr Bouverie. Captain Murray, Mr Baillie & Mr Clarke, and the Elliots dined here.
- Wednesday 23rd Lord Frederick went to Cape Town; and Mr Clarke.
- Thursday 24th Miss Blair³⁰ & Mr Bouverie came. We all spent the day in Cape Town where it was dreadfully hot. Mr Skirrow dined & slept here.
- Friday 25th I was in my room the whole day. Mr & Mrs Marshall &c Col. & Mrs Thomson, & Captn. MacKay dined here.

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- 25 Miss Baigrie, the four Colville children, and Colonel Hay were passengers on board the Victoria which had arrived in Table Bay on 10 Jan. from Mauritius. Her destination was Bristol. (Gazette 11 Jan. 1833; Cape Almanack 1834)
- 26 Sir Robert Colquhoun and his wife had arrived at the Cape on board the H.M.S. Duke of Lancaster on 31 Jan. 1832. (Gazette 3 Feb. 1832)
- 27 Archdeacon Robinson and his wife had arrived at the Cape on board the Southworth from Madras on 16 Jan. (Gazette 25 Jan. 1833)
- 28 Lady Frances: "where the Service was performed for the first time in the Dutch Church." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)
- 29 Lord Frederick Beaulclere commanded the H.M.S. Zebra which had sailed from Columbo on 27 Nov. for Simon's Bay where she had arrived on 16 Jan. Her destination was England. (Gazette 25 Jan. 1833; Cape Almanack 1834)
- 30 i.e. Miss Emma Blair. (Lady Frances, journal, PRO 30/43/115)

Saturday 26th The ex Governor of Bourbon & his Lady called to take leave.³¹ I dined at Col. Wade's; with Mr Balfour and Mr Wade. Captain Blair and Mr Clarke dined at Protea.

Sunday 27th³²

Monday 28th Miss Blair & Mr Clarke went away, & Mr [B----] & Mr Knyvett. Major Vaughan, Col. Hay, Mr Blake and Mr Rainier dined here.

Tuesday 29th Mr Wiche came.³³ Mr Knyvett returned. The Elliots, Mr Severight & Col. Wade dined here.

Wednesday 30th³⁴

Thursday 31st Mr & Mrs Hough, Mr Rogerson, & Mr Watt, dined here.

31 The H.F.M.S. La Saone, under the command of Captain Turpin, sailed for Brest on 30 Jan. The ex-Governor and his Suite were on board. (Gazette 8 Feb. 1833)

32 Lady Frances: "Went to Church at Wynberg." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

33 Mr Wiche, his wife and two daughters, had arrived on board the bark Glenalvon which had sailed from Mauritius on 18 Dec. for the Cape, where they had arrived in Table Bay on 13 Jan. Their destination was Plymouth. (South African Commercial Advertiser 16 Jan. 1833; Cape Almanack 1834)

34 Lady Frances: "Heavy damp day with Cloud hanging over the Mountain - Very hot - Wind rose in the afternoon." (journal, PRO 30/43/115)

The Return Journey

The Passage Home: 11 August to 12 October 1833

On 10 May 1833 a Military Ball was given by Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan and the officers of the 98th Regiment in honour of Lady Frances Cole and, less than two months later, Colonel Vaughan was dead. Sir Lowry had paid him a fitting tribute:

By Lieut-Colonel Vaughan's death the Service has been deprived of a valuable Officer, and the 98th Regiment of a Friend not easily to be replaced. - During his last few days of his Sufferings though most feelingly alive to the approaching separation from his Wife and Infant Family, the Interests of his Regiment were never once absent from his thoughts, and His Excellency must add, that in the course of a long Military Service, he has never yet seen equalled the Manly Fortitude and perfect resignation, in every respect worthy of a Christian and a Soldier, with which he endured his severe and painful illness, and calmly awaited the moment of his Departure.¹

At George's Hotel on the 16 May, the Anniversary of the Battle of Albuera, a Dinner was given in honour of Sir Galbraith Lowry Cole, at which there attended nearly one hundred gentlemen. The Dinner was organised by the officers of the Staff, the Royal Engineers, the Royal Artillery, and several on the half-pay of the Army who held civil appointments in the Cape colony. It was noted that "His Excellency did his

entertainers the honor of remaining with them until nearly midnight, and shortly after his departure the whole of the company separated."²

In the Commercial Advertiser of 31 July it was announced: "His Excellency with his family and suite will embark on Saturday or Sunday next for England."³ Lady Frances Cole's Journal at this stage records nothing of the farewells and bustling activities in which the family must have been embroiled.

On the 5 August 1833 Lady Frances Cole made her first trip out to the Belle Alliance which was lying at anchor in Table Bay. Mrs Elliot accompanied her. The following day Lady Frances spent the day on board and, on the 8th, she recorded in her Journal:

Fair morning - Wind rose & became very high towards the evening so as to prevent me & our things from going on board the Belle Alliance.⁴

The following afternoon Lady Frances "spent many painful moments in taking leave of the kind friends I left at the Cape."⁵ A strong north-west breeze and a heavy swell made Lady Frances's and Lisinka's trip out to the Belle Alliance an uncomfortable one early on the 10 August. Sir Lowry and the children followed them on board about an hour later:

An immense number of people being in the Town & on the Beach to see him depart evincing my strong feelings of regret - We weighed Anchor about 11 o'clock when the Elliots Col & Mrs Wade, A. Balfour & many other friends who had come on board took leave of us with very heavy hearts!⁶

The Commercial Advertiser reported the scene of Sir Lowry's departure more fully:

His Excellency proceeded from Government House through Grave street and the Parade to the Port Office, these places being lined with the whole of the troops in garrison, and a large concourse of spectators. - On arriving at the Port Office the scene was affecting. Sir Lowry strove in vain to conceal his emotion, and the feeling of many of his friends was strongly manifested by the warm and affectionate way in which they

interchanged farewell: Sir Lowry repeatedly shook hands with all around and near him.

The boats being ready, Sir Lowry Cole stepped into that appropriated to his use, accompanied by Col. Wade, the Hon. Mr Elliott and some other gentlemen, when the 72d band struck up "St. Patrick's Day," a salute was fired from the Castle, and the party put off from the shore, under the direction of Capt. Bance, the Port Captain, amidst the shouts and applause of the spectators, who crowded every inch of space from which a sight could be obtained. The sea being rather rough a heavy swell was rolling into the bay, and but for the use of Mr Lesar's fine Whale-boats, much time would have been lost in reaching the vessel.

The party proceeded to the front of the New Wharf, where a number of blasts were exploded; they then rowed to the vessel, from which a salute was fired on his Excellency's arrival; and while the boats were on the sea, a continual discharge of guns was kept up by the ships in harbour.⁷

An entry in Lady Frances Cole's Journal for the next day shows the unpredictable nature of sea-travel in those days. A fair wind or the lack of one could delay a departure or prevent an arrival.

After tossing about all night we found ourselves in the morning very little distant from the anchorage - at 10 o'clock Col & Mrs Wade came on board - A. Balfour having gone back to fetch some things we had signalled for - before 12 the S.E. breeze sprang up - the Wades were obliged to leave us & when Arthur arrived in a Whale Boat he was not allowed to come on board.⁸

They were on their way at last. On board with them travelled Doctor and Mrs Dyce with their family, and Mrs Vaughan with her children. Lieutenant-Colonel Vaughan, Commanding Officer of the 98th Regiment, had died a month earlier. Also

on board was a Mr Robertson who was noted by Lady Frances to be "too ill to leave his cabin."

In the meantime on Saturday afternoon, 13 August, the Honourable Colonel Wade was sworn in at Government House as Acting Governor of the Cape of Good Hope. Officiating at the ceremony were the Chief Justice, Judges, and the Members of Council. In a letter written to Lord Goderich the previous year, Sir Lowry Cole had expressed that, in his judgement, Colonel Wade was not the best person for such a position:

However high I might estimate his talents and worth, and no one will I think venture to accuse me of a desire to depreciate those of my friend Col. Wade - He is however junior in rank to Col. Bell and from a long and intimate knowledge of both I feel satisfied that were I to leave the former in possession of the Government things would not long go on well or satisfactorily to either your Lordship or the Colony.⁹

Of Sir Lowry Cole's character the Commercial Advertiser's correspondent had the following praise:

To all Selfishness, Jobbing, and Intrigue, he was a stern foe: and great cause for satisfaction will it be to every Colonist, if our future Governors shall possess those qualities of simple honesty of heart, and sterling integrity of purpose which so eminently characterised Sir Lowry Cole.¹⁰

Much praise was given Lady Frances Cole also:

Lady Frances Cole has now left us for ever: without incurring the suspicion of flattery, therefore, it may be truly said that she was deservedly esteemed not only by her personal friends, but by all classes of the community. To few indeed is it given to bring into action to the same extent those virtues and that benevolence of disposition by which Lady Frances was distinguished. Hers was the merit of doing good unseen; of promoting the moral advancement of those from whom she

desired nor could expect any return; of walking in the paths of Virtue, and recognising such only as she met on the same road; in a word, of blending with the most courteous amenity of personal bearing that dignity of manners, and rectitude of moral carriage which should mark the lady of the King's Representative.¹¹

The entries in Lady Frances Cole's Journal for the ten days or so following their departure include observations of their bearings and little else. Lady Frances Cole celebrated her fifty-first birthday at sea on the 22 August. They reached the island of St Helena at daylight on the morning of the following day and landed by means of a handsome barge in the afternoon.

The following morning, after breakfast, Sir Lowry, the boys and Florence Cole
Frances
rode to Napoleon's Tomb; Louisa Cole, Lisinka, Lady Cole and their host's daughter, Miss Dallas, followed in a small double Phaeton drawn by four horses.

Bonaparte's Tomb lying in a hollow, we walked down to & up from it -

It is simple & without inscription, & the situation picturesque.¹²

Of Longwood's two homes "rendered notorious by the [man who] occupied the one & was intended to occupy the other", Lady Frances Cole had serious comment to record in her Journal:

The old one is in a shameful state of devastation & decay having been converted into Farm Offices - the New one is now inhabited by Genl D.¹³ - Methinks it wd have been to their [-] either to have entirely razed the former or left one room in the state once inhabited by the wonderful man who closed his astonishing tho' ephemeral career there - The present humiliating degradation of his residence looks like a mean & vulgar triumph over a fallen Foe.¹⁴

That evening there was a grand dinner at the Castle for all the passengers of the Belle Alliance. Not long after dark they were all invited to go out on to the terrace from which they were invited to observe an entertainment prepared for them by the Officers of the Artillery.

we saw some very pretty & well imagined Fire Works ... representing in letters of Fire Sir Lowry's name & those of the Actions he had been distinguished in - These were followed by that of the hospitable Governor. All this was done on the ledge of Rock projecting from Laddon Hill.¹⁵

After Church the following morning the Belle Alliance weighed anchor and, four days later, they sighted Ascension and were becalmed at a distance of thirty miles from the harbour. Although there was not much wind that evening, they found in the morning that the current had carried them a considerable distance from the Island and so, with an

exclamation mark that speaks of her joy, Lady Frances could record in her Journal:

after many ineffectual attempts to reach [Ascension], it was found necessary to give it up & soon after breakfast we made sail for England direct!¹⁶

Just more than a month after leaving the Island of St Helena the Belle Alliance passed within twenty-five miles of the Azores. On the morning of 1st October Mr Robertson, the passenger who had never left his cabin, expired. He was given a sea-burial before midday.

Young Henrietta Ann Cole celebrated her seventh birthday at sea on 6 October. Six days later, on their forty-eighth day since being ashore, in the first light, they sighted land. Lady Frances composed her final Journal entry on 12 October 1833, within sight of her homeland that she had left ten years before:

At midnight the hazard lights were seen & at day light land was in sight - We found ourselves surrounded by innumerable homeward bound vessels - A Pilot off to us about 10 o'clock & the wind continuing favourable we continued to make rapid progress - A supply of fresh bread, butter, & potatoes most greedily devoured by everyone - At sunset we passed the Portland lights & before 10 o'clock were abreast the Needles^{17, 18}

Notes

- 1 Sir Lowry Cole, General Orders no. 136, 22 July 1833, PRO 30/43/100/2.
- 2 South African Commercial Advertiser 25 May 1833.
- 3 South African Commercial Advertiser 31 July 1833.
- 4 Lady Frances, journal, 8 Aug. 1833, PRO 30/43/115.
- 5 Lady Frances, journal, 9 Aug. 1833, PRO 30/43/115.
- 6 Lady Frances, journal, 10 Aug. 1833, PRO 30/43/115.
- 7 South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Aug. 1833.
- 8 Lady Frances, journal, 11 Aug. 1833, PRO 30/43/115.
- 9 Sir Lowry Cole, letter to Lord Goderich, 11 Mar. 1832, PRO 30/43/97.
- 10 South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Aug. 1833.
- 11 South African Commercial Advertiser 14 Aug. 1833.
- 12 Lady Frances, journal, 24 Aug. 1833, PRO 30/43/115.
- 13 i.e. General Dallas, the Governor's A.D.C. at St Helena.
- 14 Lady Frances, journal, 24 Aug. 1833, PRO 30/43/115.
- 15 Lady Frances, journal, 24 Aug. 1833, PRO 30/43/115.
- 16 Lady Frances, journal, 30 Aug. 1833, PRO 30/43/115.
- 17 The Needles: two chalkstone rock pinnacles just off the western tip of the Isle of Wight.
- 18 Lady Frances, journal, 12 Oct. 1833, PRO 30/43/115.

APPENDIX A

Lisinka's letter to Mrs Robinson.¹

May 1st 1830

My dear Mrs Robinson,

I think I cannot choose a better employment of this auspicious day, the Govrs Birthday, than writing to you to thank you for your letter of the 3d December, which reached me many weeks later than it ought to have done, in consequence of having made a voyage to the Mauritius - the Ship which took the Cape Mail, not having stopped here. I hope you are pleased with your new Great Niece - it makes me feel very old to think that I remember the Birth of the Bridegroom! All your Nieces and Nephews here great & small, are very prosperous, we are to have a large dinner of intimates that is Wades; and one or two families from Cape Town to celebrate the day; and in the evening there is to be a Juvenile Ball, composed of the family party and a few young people from the neighbourhood.

Our grand Ball, on the 23d of April, went off extremely well, though I do not think it was so fully attended as last year in consequence of many families being in deep mourning - Col. Wade was very active in superintending the Decorations of the Verandah, which was enclosed to form one of the Supper rooms - and it looked extremely well, being hung, with all the Flags from the Maidstone & the pillars wreathed with flowers. His Excellency and his party of about 90, supped in his own sitting room the upper end of which was ornamented with the Royal Standard - and the Tower with the Erin flag.

Dancing was kept up with great spirit, till half past two when all the company retired - His Excellency opened the Ball with Mrs Smith, the wife of the 1st Member of Council - he afterwards waltzed with Fanny; & her Ladyship during the course of the evening danced two Quadrilles one with a little Boy, a friend of Arthur's, & the last with Col. Smith. I did not dance at all - having been unwell for some days; and therefore not equal to much fatigue and I was already tired with the event of the morning - on that day the foundation stone of the Church was laid by the Governor - & we were of course present at the ceremony, and as it happened to be a very hot day we were all fagged though we had nothing to do but to sit still and look. - I do not know if you have ever been present at a ceremony of that kind - but at all events you will take some interest in our Church therefore I send you the particulars, which are very correctly given, begging you to forward the account as soon as you have read it to my Sister. It was really a very pretty and a very interesting spectacle - Col. Bell stood immediately behind his Excellency, & was worthy of a conspicuous place on the occasion, since to him the colony is principally indebted for the means of undertaking this great and good work - the scheme for raising the necessary funds, & the plan of the building are entirely his. Government gives its assistance, but that could not be obtained, till the Colony had furnished a certain portion. I am proud to think I have a little finger in the pie, since I suggested to Col. Bell that St George's Day, ought to be the Day for the ceremony!

The event was commemorated by a Dinner given by one of the Judges, to the Children of the Sunday School and upwards of 90, of all ages, sizes & colours, bond & free sat down to a plentiful English dinner, of Roast Beef & Plum Pudding - they were allowed two Glasses of wine afterwards - to drink to "the Church & King" - & "The Govr & Lady Frances Cole" - We, that is Fanny, Catherine, & myself, staid [sic] for the first Toast, and I assure you the cheering, was done in a style to please John Bull himself!

May 5th - Some days have elapsed as you will perceive by my date, since I began this letter - His Excellency's Birthday, was a day of merriment - beginning with a large family breakfast of all ages - then a dinner of four & twenty Juveniles, at which Sir Lowry's health was proposed by little Tom Wade - and "the Ladies of the Colony" - by Arthur. Then followed a dinner of grown up people, at which there was much talking & much laughing, & just wine enough drunk to put all the Gentlemen in good spirits - & nothing more. At seven, his Excellency & the company were summoned into the Hall, where he was met by a troupe of Children who were decorated with Flowers - James recited some lines written for the occasion by Arthur, & conducted to a sort of Bower, where he was crowned with Garlands by little Fanny and Henrietta - Afterwards dancing began & was kept up with spirit by young and old, till about 10 o'clock, when the company departed - but a few of the grown up children of the family, lingered in the scene of festivity - & minuets Irish Jigs & Scotch Reels, were danced with much applause - The evening concluded with a Supper for the Servants & a little dancing but all gaiety was over by twelve o'clock, it being Saturday. On this joyful occasion, as on all others, there was however some alloy mixed with the pleasure; & a very serious one too - for poor Col. Wade, whilst gayly dancing the Coquette with Florence, broke the Tendon Achilles, & was carried out of the room in an agony of pain - happily Dr Dyce was present so that all that was necessary was immediatley [sic] done; but I am sorry to say that this accident will occasion his being confined to his bed for some weeks and that he will not be able to put his foot to the Ground for five or six months - it is peculiarly hard upon him just now as he was very busy in superintending the alterations in a house he has lately taken in Cape Town and it will be several weeks before he will be permitted to go in a Carriage - as yet they have not even permitted his Bed to be made - he is in good spirits, at least when his friends are visiting him - but the long confinement and the total helplessness, for he is not allowed to move, are sad trials to so active a man.

Our Races, this year, were very bad and we had no Ball. I think I have mentioned to you in a former letter that when the Governor was on the Frontier, he went to look at a new establishment of Hottentots, to whom some land had been lately Granted - these poor people it seems are going on very well in their locations, as they call farms here, that is they are industrious & persevering and altho' they have not been very fortunate in their crops, the failure has been occasioned by their having had bad seed. We have been amused at hearing lately, that to various parts of this new Location, have been given the names of Cole Vale - Frances Mount, Catherine Mount & Bell-ville - Nearer Cape Town, there is the village of Malmesbury. We have had the most beautiful illumination the last three nights that you can imagine, a great part of the brush wood on Table Mountain has been on fire & burning since Monday and at night the effect has been very fine - for the out line of the Mountain is appeared as if fringed with fire - now it has descended much lower and I am afraid will make sad havock [sic] amongst the silver woods, which clothe the part of it - the wind is blowing very strong, & nothing can be done to stop it - at the moment I am writing the flames are really tremendous.

We are all well here & Col. Wade is going on well; but his spirits begin to flagg [sic] a little - he is so very weary of being kept in the same position night and day. Your last account of Lady Malmesbury is the best we have received & the best we must expect, I fear.

May 7th - The fire on the Mountain is at last over and does not make as much difference in its appearance as might have been expected.

I believe Fanny intends to write to you by this opportunity. Col. Bell and Catherine have been staying here frequently lately, and are both in high preservation.

Believe me ever my dear Mrs Robinson

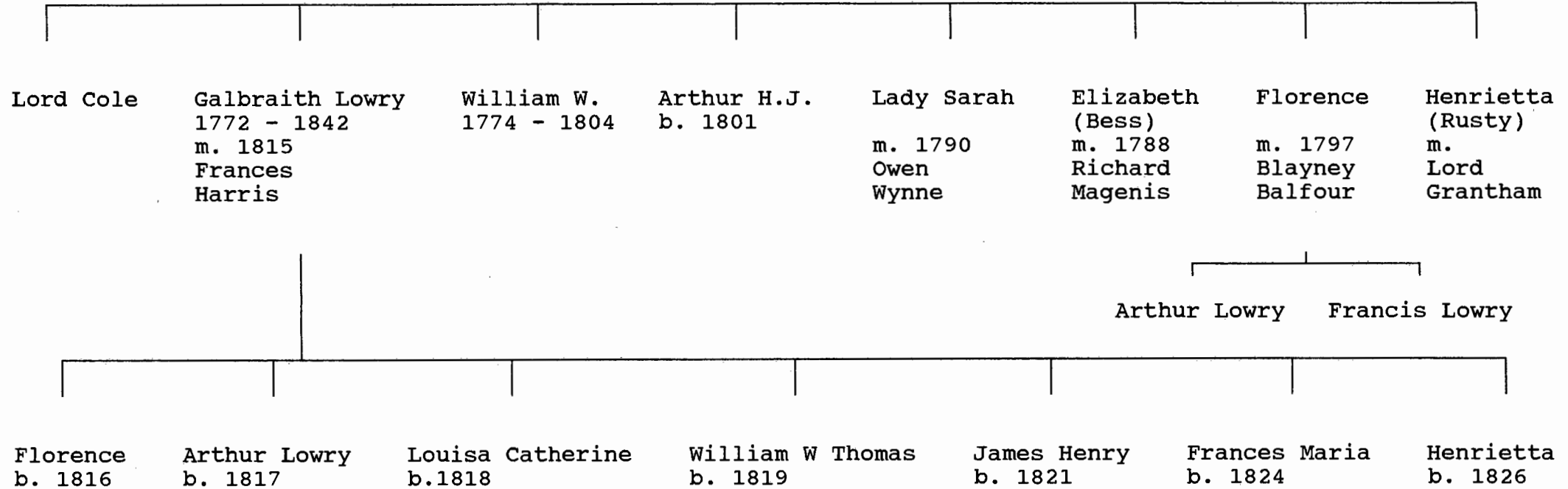
Your affecte. and grateful

Elizth. Cozens.

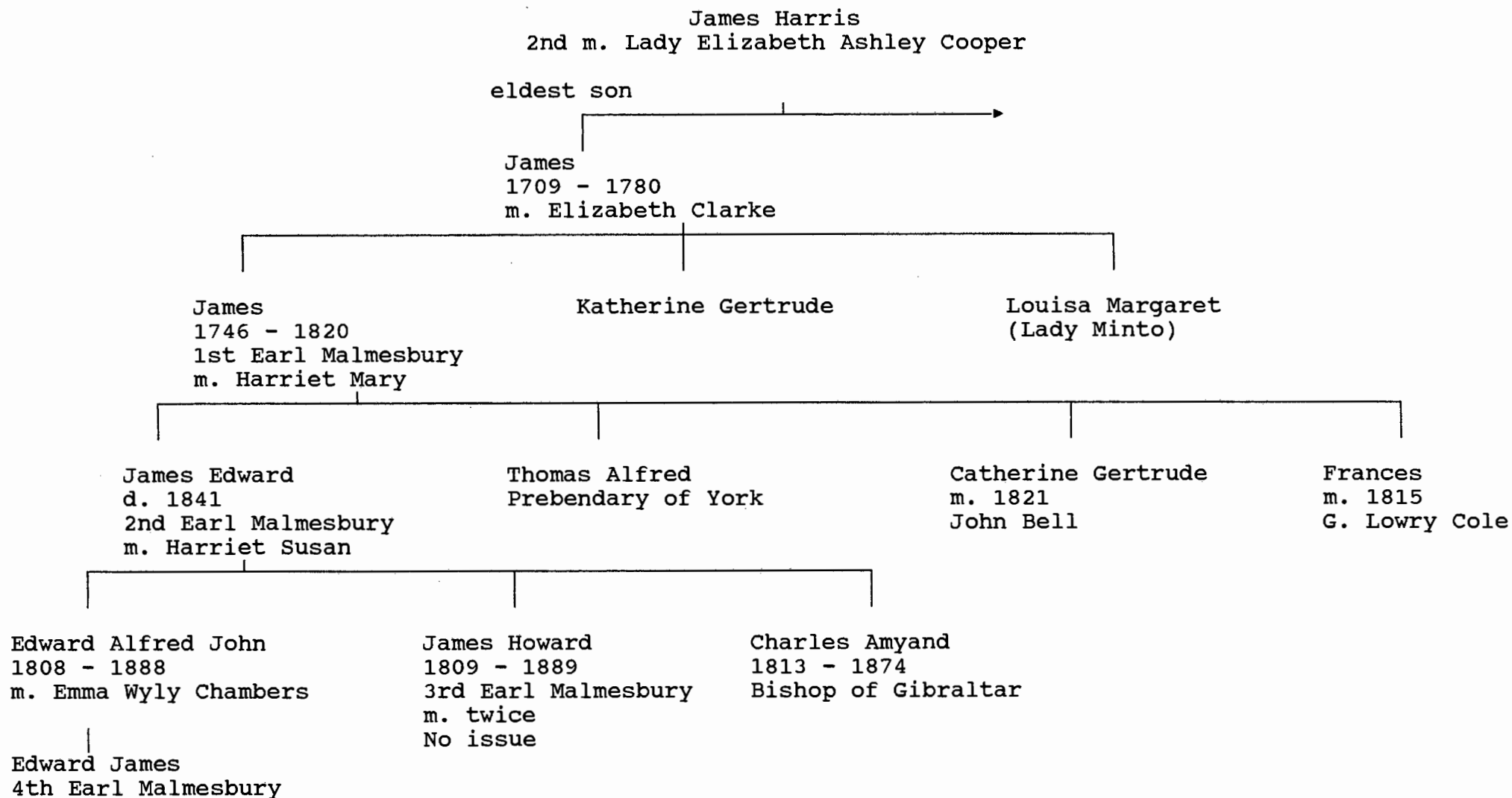
Note

- 1 Elizabeth Cozens, letter to Mrs Robinson, 1 May 1830, PRO 33/43/9.

William Willoughby Cole b. 1736
 m. Anne Corry
 Earl of Enniskillen 1789



GENEALOGY OF THE COLE FAMILY



GENEALOGY OF THE HARRIS FAMILY

SIGLA

DNB - Dictionary of National Biography

DSAB - Dictionary of South African Biography

OED - Oxford English Dictionary

PRO - Public Record Office

[Unless otherwise stated, all references are to the Cole Papers, Public Record Office PRO 30/43.]

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